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TOMMY ATKINS: THE BRITISH SOLDIER IN CANADA, 1759-1870

Carol M. Whitfield

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ABSTRACT

Tommy Atkins, the pseudonym of the universal British soldier, garrisoned Canada from 1759 to 1870. His presence affected the economic and social life of every town in which he was stationed, but he has hitherto been overlooked by Canadian historians.

This study attempts to paint a profile of his character, to explain his daily life, and to point out the factors that influenced his behaviour.

This report considers, first, the bureaucracy that attempted to govern every minute of Tommy Atkins's life and that effected great changes in his lifestyle over the period covered in this study. We then examine two aspects of his life, alcohol and desertion, which brought him into conflict with that bureaucracy. The fourth chapter, on discipline, examines the ways in which the bureaucracy meted out punishment.

Finally, two additional ways in which the bureaucracy tried to keep him in line are examined - the provision of religious guidance and libraries.

PREFACE

This volume is the first installment of a large research paper on the social history of the British soldier in British North America from 1759 to 1870. The study is being released in installments to make the findings available for the interpretation of the military sites operated by Parks Canada. It is a thematic rather than a chronological presentation. Since the British army was controlled by bureaucracy and its own traditions, it is extremely likely that individual situations, problems, solutions and *modi operandi* varied little from one post to another. This consistency must be taken as a basis for understanding the research, especially since it was not possible to present a detailed study of the army at each post in British North America, and there was insufficient information about certain aspects of life at individual posts. Food and living quarters were closely regulated, while recreation was governed by custom and opportunity. Generally what was true of Fort Anne, Nova Scotia, was also true of Fort Wellington, Upper Canada, in the same time frame.

The first chapter, on army administration, may not at first seem relevant to a study of the social history of the rank and file. However, it is impossible to comprehend the forces which influenced the daily life and habits of the private, his family and colleagues, without analyzing and understanding the bureaucracy of the British army. The remaining chapters deal with the more obvious aspects of the day-to-day life of the soldier.

This paper is the result of several years of research on the subject and of research done for the development of specific sites. It is also a product of suggestions and advice from my colleagues, the historians and editorial staff of Parks Canada. I am grateful for their ideas and supporting friendship, but I take full responsibility for the contents of this study.

CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED: THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ARMY

To understand the erratic nature in which policy decisions (other than strategy) and administrative changes occurred, and the effect this had upon the living conditions, habits and interests of the British soldier in North America, it is essential to understand British army administration in the 18th and 19th centuries. That administration was complicated, confusing and contradictory. This chapter will identify 11 separate bodies that, independently or in concert, governed the army, or rather two armies.[1] It must never be forgotten that, until 1855, the British government maintained two distinct military forces: the infantry and cavalry under the immediate supervision of the Horse Guards and the Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery under the Board of Ordnance. These two organizations with the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, the Secretary at War, the Home Office, the Treasury, the Army Medical Department, the Army Audit Office, the Board of General Officers, the two paymasters general, and the Board of Chelsea Commissioners governed Britain's fighting force. Some of these organizations were professional, some political: some had pervasive authority, while the mandate of others was narrowly defined, yet during the first half of the 19th century it took all of these organizations to recruit, train, feed, clothe, house and discipline men.

Truly "the organization of the British army in the 18th [and 19th] century was weird and wonderful."[2] So wonderful that it required a man with awesome presence, a Wellington, to make it pull together. In some ways it was unfortunate that Wellington managed "with all his infinite patience, attention to detail, and knowledge of what ought to be done, ... to make so magnificent a fighting machine as the Army of the Peninsula."[3] Had he failed, the senior officers of the army and the politicians might have become aware of "the faults of the cumbrous administrative machinery ... under less tragic conditions."[4] With Wellington dead, the administration disintegrated under the pressure of a major campaign in the Crimea. So colossal was this management disaster that finally the diverse and sporadic reform movements culminated in a massive administrative amalgamation in 1855.

This chapter will attempt to look at these 11 administrative units, their personnel, responsibilities, effectiveness, and interrelationships in the periods before 1855 and immediately after. As much as possible the administration in London will be tied to its subordinates in the three commands of British North America.

The Horse Guards

> Horse-Guards, a public building situated in Parliament street Westminster, which is so called from a guard having been originally mounted there by the Horse-Guards ... The Commander in Chief's office, that of the Secretary at War, Adjutant General, Muster Master General, &c. are at the Horse-Guards; to which place all official communications relating to the British army are transmittd. All applications, personal or otherwise, to the Commander in Chief, are likewise made there.[5]

Charles James, the prolific early 19th century military analyst, was right: the "Horse Guards" is even now the name of a building where tourists flock every day to see the changing of the guard, but the second half of his definition is closer to common usage. Throughout the 19th century, to officers and civilians, the Horse Guards meant "the personnel of the office of the Commander-in-Chief and the military authorities at the head of the army, esp. as distinct from the Secretary of State for War and the civil authorities."[6] It is this second definition which will be used in this paper.

The office of the commander-in-chief, the military headquarters of the army, was originally the secretariat for the king in his capacity as commander of England's land forces. The appointment of a commander-in-chief, or captain-general, for the title varied,[7] was the monarch's prerogative and a prerogative jealously guarded although not always exercised. As the king's personal servant the office was a professional rather than a political one, albeit the appointment of the Duke of Cambridge in 1856 and the resignations of the Duke of York in 1809 and the Duke of Wellington in 1827 were certainly political issues. Furthermore no one who assumed the office could ignore politics, because the army itself was frequently a political pinball. Nevertheless the functions of the Horse Guards as it evolved in the 18th century were military as distinct from financial. The Horse Guards was responsible for the discipline and efficiency of the cavalry

Figure 1. H.R.H. Frederick, Duke of York, the first real commander-in-chief, was responsible for establishing the Horse Guards as the administration for the infantry and cavalry. He was a poor commander in the field but a sensible army administrator.

Figure 2. After commanding troops in the field, Wellington became master general of the ordnance and then commander-in-chief. As he grew older and more removed from his field experience, Wellington became quite intransigent and resisted reform in the army.

and infantry. By extension this also meant responsibility for recruiting and training the troops and for commissioning and promoting their officers.

These responsibilities had evolved very slowly and as they evolved an administration, the Horse Guards, had come into existence. It took a long time for Parliament and the public to overcome their fear of a standing army (the result of the civil war) and to recognize that the army needed an administration. They were prepared to accept the necessity of an army in wartime, and thus, in wartime only a commander-in-chief. But, between each emergency of the 18th century, the size of the army staff was cut back, particularly its conspicuous leader, the commander-in-chief. Sir George Yonge, Secretary at War, explained to the House of Commons in 1789 as revolution in France erupted,

> whenever the country needed the services of such an Officer, he should be appointed; but that in a time of profound peace they were not prepared to admit that a Commander-in-Chief was necessary.[8]

On the other hand, the adjutant-general was not demobilized at the close of each war because he helped maintain order within the army. This cavalier approach to military administration meant that at times military problems, like promotion, were handled by the secretary at war, a politician. Hence, "As a general rule political, rather than military qualifications were then considered necessary attributes for high command. Needless to say, complaints against the unsuitability or lack of experience of Commanders were frequent and numerous...."[9] This power of political patronage had a detrimental effect upon the discipline of the army, seriously impairing the power of adjutants-general to enforce the regulations, for officers who knew their position had been achieved through friends in Parliament seldom acknowledged any responsibility to the army bureaucrat in the Horse Guards.[10]

The appointment of the Duke of York as commander-in-chief in 1795, marked a real change.[11] Using the prestige and authority of the royal family plus the threat of an invasion of England, he established a stable, efficient secretariat for the army. Slowly the offices of adjutant- and quartermaster-general began to regain their authority from the politicians and create, with the commander-in-chief's military secretary, a uniform administration. As Fortescue correctly noted, the Duke of York converted "a number of undisciplined and disorganized regiments ... into an army."[12]

The commander-in-chief was responsible for the defence of Great Britain against an invader,[13] although he had no control over the fortifications or weapons for conducting the defence, and needed the sanction of the secretary at war before ordering troops to march from one locale to another.

He was not responsible for the actual command of troops abroad, a duty that fell to the senior officer in the command,[14] but the Duke of York made himself responsible for the quality of those officers by establishing regulations for promotion, purchase and evaluation. By insisting that an officer serve a minimum number of years at each rank in the regular army, and that ensigns be at least 16 years old, he tried to prevent child officers. Furthermore he demanded that all applications for purchase be accompanied by a statement of approval by the colonel,[15] while insisting that all purchases of promotion be done through the normal channels at the regulated price. In this last matter he failed: although every one purchasing rank signed a statement that only the regulated price was paid, additional money usually passed under the table.[16] Because the purchase system penalized poor but excellent officers, the Duke of York used his system of confidential evaluations on every officer to establish a list from which he could make promotions without purchase. Finally he supported the Junior Department of the Royal Military College, which trained subalterns, and the Senior Department, which taught staff duties.[17]

Understandably these attempts to regulate and formalize the channels for appointment and promotion increased the work of the commander-in-chief's office. Therefore the Duke of York appointed a confidential military secretary in 1795 to handle this correpondence and some of the Horse Guards' business with other government departments.[18] The incumbent of the office of military secretary was always a senior army officer.

The military secretary in each command was on the staff of the commanding officer. He handled almost all the military correspondence "with the Treasury, the War Office, and the Horse Guards, in England, and with the commissariat and the other departments in Canada...." He submitted everything, relating to "finance and allowances, estimates and contracts" which required approval, to the general and then communicated his decisions to the appropriate individuals.[19]

Ironically it was the purchase system, which he worked so hard to regulate, that nearly destroyed the Duke's career as commander-in-chief. In 1809 Frederick's ex-mistress, Mary Ann Clarke, accused him of accepting bribes for promotion through her. She may have sold her influence with him to gain promotions, but he was probably ignorant of her moonlighting and there was never any evidence produced that he had accepted bribes for overthrowing his own controls. Wellington told the parliamentary inquiry:

> I know that since His Royal Highness has had the command of the army, the regulations framed by him for managing the promotion of the army have been strictly adhered to, and that the mode in

> which the promotion is conducted has given general satisfaction ... the officers are improved in knowledge; that the staff of the army is much better than it was ... that the system of subordination among the officers of the army is better than it was ... and everything that relates to the military discipline of the soldiers and the military efficiency of the army has been greatly improved since His Royal Highness was appointed Commander-in- Chief.[20]

Nevertheless the Duke of York tendered his resignation in 1809 but resumed the office two years later when the scandal had blown over.

Those functions of the commander-in-chief's office which centred on discipline, training and efficiency were the responsibility of the adjutant-general. To perform these duties the Horse Guards maintained a regular correspondence with general officers at home and abroad so that they knew the exact state of every military unit. Hence the monthly returns, listing the number of each rank present and fit for duty, the officers present and absent on leave, the number of men entering and leaving the command, and the distribution of the troops and officers, were transmitted from the North American commands to the adjutant-general. Once the establishment of the army and the conditions of service were fixed, recruiting was done under orders issued, after 1806, by the adjutant-general to inspecting field officers.[21] Prior to that date there was an inspector general of recruiting (1775-1806), an appointment of the secretary at war.[22]

Once the troops were recruited, it was the adjutant-general who communicated all the military regulations decreed by the commander-in-chief. Hence the covering note on the *General Regulations and Orders for the Army* in 1811 was signed by the adjutant-general but it was the commander-in-chief who issued the orders after they received the Prince Regent's approbation.[23] These regulations governed the duties and honors of the various ranks, regimental organization for messing, bands, furloughs, ammunition, and the records to be kept by the regiment. At the same time the adjutant-general also issued the commander-in-chief's orders establishing certain field exercises and manoeuvres. Until the Duke of York promulgated David Dundas' *Rules and Regulations* for the infantry and cavalry "no two regiments ... moved in unison."[24] It is easy to imagine the chaos that must have existed at the battlefront prior to the adoption of Dundas' ideas on tactical manoeuvres.

Finally it was the adjutant-general who received all applications for clothing and equipment which he transmitted to the appropriate officials. (The deputy adjutant-

general[25] represented the adjutant-general on the Board of General Officers, which inspected army clothing.)[26]

Hence most of the duties of the adjutant-general were administrative ones - duties which had increased immensely as the Duke of York established "standard procedures and fixed channels of command and communication" in his effort to create a uniform administration of the regiments.[27]

His counterpart in North America, the deputy adjutant-general for the command, was responsible for promulgating the general orders and for "all matters touching the discipline of the troops," including their arms and equipment.[28] The regimental adjutant performed most of the administrative duties of the regiment. He seldom made decisions but rather executed the decisions made by the colonel or commander-in-chief. He kept the regimental establishment records, promulgated the orders for each day, and arranged regular drills to teach new recruits and maintain the proficiency of the whole unit.[29]

The other senior officer in the Horse Guards, the quartermaster general, was responsible for the movement of troops. To facilitate this duty, the quartermaster general directed the Royal Staff Corps, which built temporary field works, and after 1803 he supervised the Information and Survey branches, which collected military plans and papers.[30] The quartermaster general's job was very similar to a modern travel agent: he prepared an itinerary for moving troops from one station to another and arranged for their lodging.

> The orders for such a move was made out in the quartermaster general's office in the form of a Memorandum accompanied with the particular routes and days of march which such regiments (or its divisions) were to take. In this Memorandum were also comprehended the several notices to be given as follows: to the general of the District...; to the Barrack Office, if the troops were moved into or out of barracks; to the Commissary-General .... The Memorandum so made out was sent to the War Office, and ... all the above notices were dispatched by that Department.[31]

The War Office, the office of the secretary at war, approved all routes because this was the responsible politician if troops misbehaved,[32] or were present, contrary to British law, in a constituency during an election.[33]

The quartermasters in North America did not have to seek the sanction of the War Office to move troops, but they still issued all routes and arranged for any encampments or receiving troops into barracks, allocating quarters to the rank and file and officers. They were usually officers who had made themselves familiar with the geography of the command.[34] Since they also issued uniforms, arms and

accoutrements, they supervised the quartermaster sergeants, the armourers, tailors and shoemakers, when these artisans were present in a garrison. To assist them in forming camps, they sometimes managed pioneers and workmen.[35]

Secretary At War: "That rather mysterious functionary"[36]

Secretary AT War was a most peculiar title for a man whose responsibilities were so far from the battlefield and who had very little to say, except as a member of Parliament, even in the declaration of war, although his staff was called the War Office. Basically the secretary at war was the parliamentary watchdog for army financing and expenditure.

The office began in 1661 when Sir William Clarke was commissioned "Secretary at War" for the forces in England and Wales.[37] As Ward points out he was originally a civilian secretary to the monarch as commander-in-chief and had no political affiliation.[38]

> He communicated the King's pleasure in matters of military administration, saw that regiments were kept up to their establishments, provided for the quartering of the soldiers, issued marching orders, countersigned officers' commissions and generally attended to the needs of the Army in all matters of routine.[39]

The incumbent in 1717 argued that he was bound to carry out the Crown's orders but was not accountable to Parliament.[40] During the 18th century, however, these functions were politicized by the parliamentary fight to control the size and expense of the army.

Finally a statute of 1783,[41] Edmund Burke's Act for Economical Reform, regulated the War Office, requiring the secretary at war to present and submit the army estimates and to be responsible for the expenditures. (The army estimates did not include the budgets for the militia, commissariat or ordnance, which were submitted to Parliament by other individuals).[42] Henceforth the secretary at war

> was there to control the expenditure of the Army in the interests of the public purse, not merely to announce what numbers were required. He was there to see that the money which Parliament had voted was used only for the purposes which Parliament intended, not merely to see that the agents of the Crown did not encroach too far on the civil law.[43]

Burke's Act also transferred the financial and

administrative work of the regiments from their agents to the secretary at war so that consequently he issued pay and controlled allowances through the regimental paymasters.[44] The secretary at war became the senior financial officer for military expenses, a task which Glover claims required "solid administrative talent" but not "transcendent genius."[45] Certainly during the period Glover was describing, the Peninsular Wars, no secretary at war ventured much beyond these bookkeeping duties. Even Sidney Herbert, probably the greatest secretary at war, acknowledged that he was "strictly a financial officer," but Herbert admitted that the office has acquired executive duties by "having originated certain improvements and reforms in the army."[46] Through the allocation of funds, Herbert and a few of his predecessors created facilities like schools and libraries, and changed "the rates of pay, food and clothing,"[47] drastically altering the living conditions of the rank and file. Furthermore the secretary at war

> was the hub of the military government. The smaller subordinate departments were at his command, and even in war it was usually impossible for the military departments to get these sub-departments to act unless the Secretary-at-War had given the word.[48]

Burke's Act, by insisting upon parliamentary responsibility, made it absolutely mandatory that the secretary at war be a member of Parliament, and politically aligned with the prime minister, although not necessarily a cabinet minister. Palmerston, in accepting the office in 1809 declined a cabinet seat because it was not "necessary" but he did concede that "the business of the Department will, I take it, be quite sufficient to occupy one's time without attending Cabinet councils."[49] Since he was the incumbent of the office for the next 20 years, Palmerston may have eventually regretted his decision to forego the extra prestige of a cabinet position.

There was no consistent policy as to whether or not the secretary at war entered the cabinet. The decision hinged partially on the individual's own political power and prestige, and partially on the gravity of the military scene. Howick, for example, was appointed to the cabinet as a representative of the Grey clan, a powerful political force, while Herbert was probably brought into the cabinet because of the Crimean War.

Although Burke's Act established the ascendancy of the secretary at war in matters of military finance, it did not clarify the relationship between the War Office and the other departments administering the army. After a prolonged quarrel between Palmerston, Secretary at War and two commanders-in-chief, David Dundas and the Duke of York, it was decided that the secretary at war and commander-in-chief

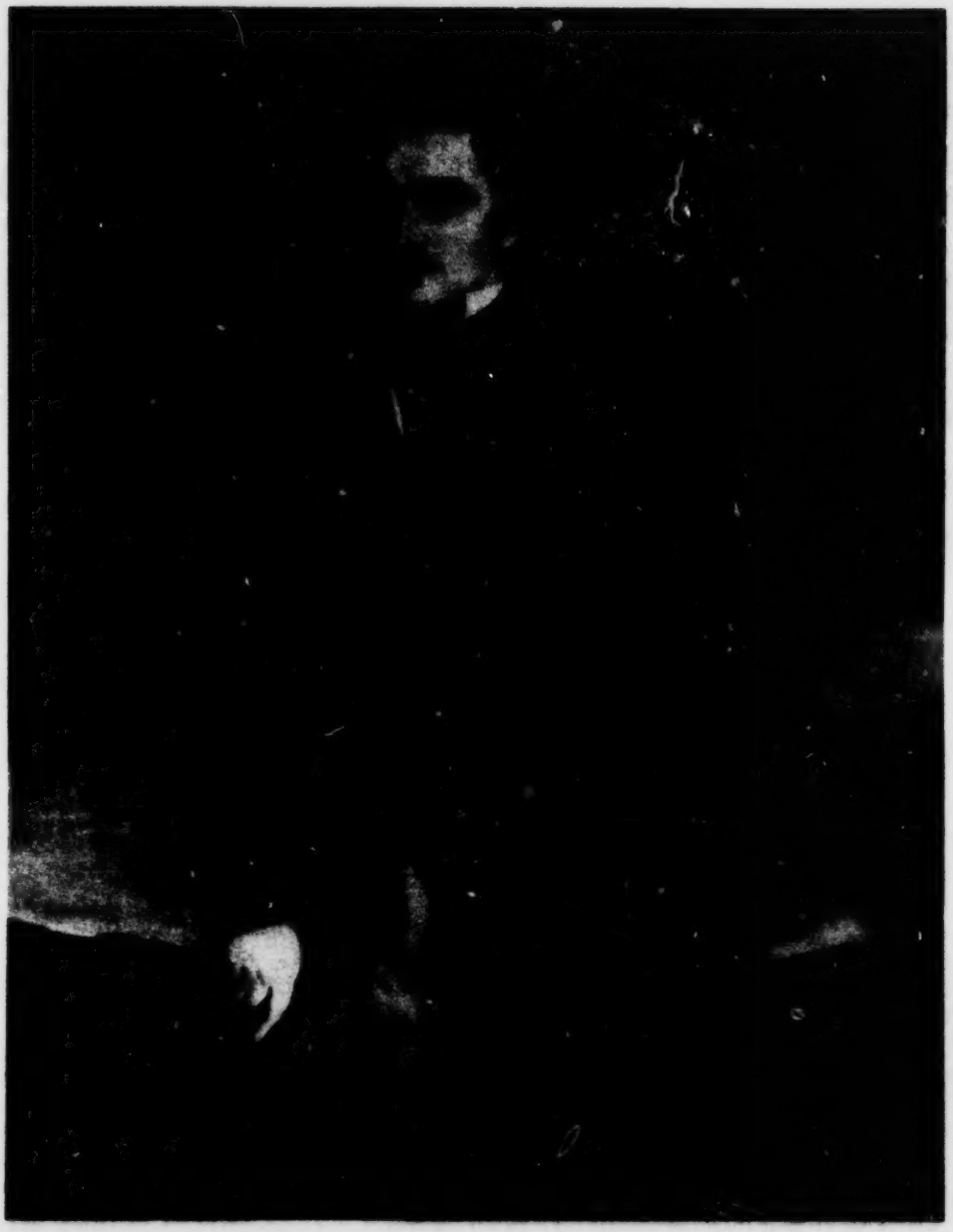

Figure 3. Sidney Herbert was probably the most reform-minded secretary at war, and eventually became secretary for war. He was responsible for sending Florence Nightingale to the Crimea and worked with her on numerous commissions that examined the state of health and sanitation in the British army. He worked himself to death trying to implement some of their recommendations.

were equal and in no way subordinate to each other. Nevertheless all the secretary at war's orders on any matter had to pass through the commander-in-chief to maintain military discipline.[50] Palmerston obeyed this decision for a decade: then he communicated directly with the commanding officers in the West Indies and the quarrel was reopened. The prime minister censured both parties but did not find a new solution.[51] In case of a dispute the opinions of both parties were to be submitted to "the first Lord of the Treasury, or the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, or to all of them, for them to obtain the Sovereign's pleasure thereon."[52] This was a complicated way of obtaining an adjudication.

Despite the quarrel, and the continuing watchfulness of both sides over their rights and prerogatives, Clode claimed that the War Office and Horse Guards were always prepared to join forces against a third military body, the Board of Ordnance.[53] During the Napoleonic Wars the War Office created the Royal Staff Corps, because the Duke of York was not satisfied with the co-operation he received from the sappers and miners of Ordnance. At the same time both Ordnance and the War Office developed their own transport and medical services.[54]

Another service provided by the War Office for the Horse Guards, the Storekeeper General's Department, began as an *ad hoc* arrangement during the Dutch armament of 1787[55] but was formalized in 1808, partly because of its efficiency and partly because of the secretary at war's "jealousy of the Board [of Ordnance] which induced him to encourage the establishment of rival depots under his own control."[56] The firm of John Trotter and Company began supplying camp necessaries such as tents, kettles and knapsacks, to the individual regiments more efficiently and cheaper than the regimental agents so that it developed a virtual monopoly and was given responsibility by the secretary at war for distributing barrack, uniform, and hospital stores as well. Eventually complaints against this monopoly were made, although no charges of fraud were even suggested against Trotter. To regularize the arrangement, however, the military Storekeeper General's Department was established in December 1807, headed by Trotter's nephew.

> It was to have charge and afford safe custody to all stores committed to it by various army officials such as the Commissary General, Quartermaster General, Barrackmaster General or Surgeon General; storing them in warehouses of its own, providing and issuing only under orders of the branch officiallyresponsible.[57]

Originally the storekeeper general had depots and staff in England only: abroad his goods were consigned to the commissariat.[58] Because the commissariat officers had

no expertise in the stores they were distributing for the storekeeper general, it was recommended in 1812 that he send subordinates abroad "on extensive military service."[59] This idea was rejected but by 1815 he had representatives in France[60] and after the War of 1812, a Storekeeper General's Department was created in Nova Scotia under George Child and in the Canadas under W. Robertson. Robertson's staff stored and distributed clothing, camp equipment and the Indian presents.[61] Beyond keeping accurate accounts of supply and issue of goods, his staff was also responsible for assessing the financial advantages of purchasing different items locally or in England.[62] In 1820, however, the storekeeper general's functions were transferred to the commissariat and in 1822 to the Board of Ordnance.

Board of Ordnance: "A clog upon the military service"[63]

The Board of Ordnance had three functions. Firstly it controlled Britain's professional land forces, the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers; the discipline and terms of employment - pay and allowances - of these two vital corps were determined by the Master General and Honourable Board of Ordnance. Secondly it supplied much of the materiel of the army, especially the weapons and ammunition, for its own forces, for the navy, and for the infantry and cavalry. Thirdly, it was responsible for all lands and buildings owned by the Crown for military purposes. Therefore the Board of Ordnance designed and built the barracks and fortifications inhabited by the army (infantry and cavalry).

This division of Britain's land forces into the army and ordnance corps created some minor irritations and some real problems, sometimes resulting in the unnecessary duplication of services, such as the Royal Staff Corps and Royal Waggon Train pointed out above. The two corps were so legally distinct that in the 19th century the commanding officer of a fort, or even a whole command like Nova Scotia, could request but never order participation or action by the engineer and artillery officers.

> The position of the Artillery and Engineers, as large military corps under a totally separate jurisdiction from the remainder of the army, brought with it many benefits, but at the same time considerable countervailing disadvantages. On the score of allowances they, and especially the Engineers, were great gainers. In the matter of quarters, the Board took special care

> of its own children. The house allotted to the Commanding Engineer was sure to be the largest and most commodious building in the place.... In these and many other minor particulars the Corps enjoyed privileges which did not fall to the lot of others. At the same time, these benefits were counteracted by drawbacks. The army at large was disposed to look with some jealousy on these departmental Corps, and there was an absence of that feeling of camaraderie so essential in the units of a fighting force. Generals were apt to look coldly on men who, although nominally under their command were in reality only partially amenable to their control.[64]

This position of independence from the authority of the army commander had not always existed. John Montresor, Chief Engineer, North America, from 1775 to 1776, complained in his diary about the relationship between the army commander and the engineer corps.

> The Cruelty of that despotic Power of Commanders in Chief abroad, not only disposing of the Corps singly and severally as a Corps, but even out of their line, as aid de Camps, Deputy Quarter master Generals, Assistant Quarter master Generals Companions.... And that for a scientifick Body, is too bad to Relate,...[65]

Nevertheless most of the tension between the army and ordnance existed in London where the two administrations quarrelled over responsibilities and failures. At the local stations their junior officers usually co-operated. They were forced to do so by the social conventions of the time: as officers serving the Crown, sharing the same accommodation and frequently members of the same mess it became extremely awkward socially if their working relationship was vituperative. Furthermore Wellington, when he was leaving the office of master general to become commander-in-chief, issued field service regulations for the ordnance corps. As a commanding officer who had suffered because of lack of co-operation in the field, he wanted to amend their relationship with the army. Although these corps reported to the Board of Ordnance, "They were also to pay due obedience to the military commander of the force and to demand nothing except under his orders and were thus subject to a dual control; an objectionable feature inevitable so long as the Office of Ordnance was independent of the army."[66] In accordance with Wellington's wishes the *Orders and Regulations for the Royal Engineers* issued in 1831 stated that the engineers were "bound as far as accords with local and professional duties" by the "spirit and Tenor" of the most recent edition of the

General Regulations and Orders for the Army.[67] Nevertheless the general officer commanding was always aware that when a disagreement arose the commanding Royal Engineer could stall by referring the issue to London for authorization from the Master General and Honourable Board of Ordnance. The reverse was also true occasionally. When Gustavus Nicolls, the engineer on the Halifax Citadel, requested military labour, the general officer commanding, Lieutenant-General Maitland, refused to supply the full complement requested.[68]

The Master General and the Honourable Board of Ordnance headed a peculiar organization. Firstly, it was a mixed civilian-professional body, unlike the military Horse Guards and civilian War Office. Secondly this one office combined some of the functions of the War Office and Horse Guards. Like the Horse Guards it was responsible for the discipline and efficiency of troops - the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and their appended specialty corps. Like the War Office, the Board of Ordnance was fiscally responsible to Parliament for moneys appropriated for fortifications and war materiel.

The composition of the Board of Ordnance was not stable, major changes occurring in 1828 and again in 1855 when the Board was abolished. Prior to 1828 the Board consisted of the "Master General," as chairman, and five members, the "Lieutenant-General," "Surveyor General," "Keeper of Stores" or "Storekeeper General" (not to be confused with the storekeeper general who reported to the secretary at war), "Clerk of the Deliveries" and "Clerk of the Ordnance." There were also a number of minor officials reporting to this board.[69]

The master general was commander-in-chief of the Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery and, during the 18th century, he occasionally took personal command of these corps in the field. The master general also helped formulate the policies of the board. As a soldier politician who, until 1828, was usually a cabinet minister as well,[70] he was normally the only professional in a position to advise the cabinet on military matters. Hence he was frequently tendering advice relating to the operation of the Horse Guards as well as the Board of Ordnance, creating thereby some of the tension between the commander-in-chief and himself. After 1828 he became an advisor on technical problems relating to munitions and fortifications only.[71] Part of his duties related to communicating cabinet decisions to the board so that government policy could be implemented. In reality he usually submitted decisions to either the lieutenant-general or surveyor general. "The matters submitted to Board meetings were merely of a routine nature, those which, in accordance with the letter of the law, had to be sanctioned in this way as a formality."[72]

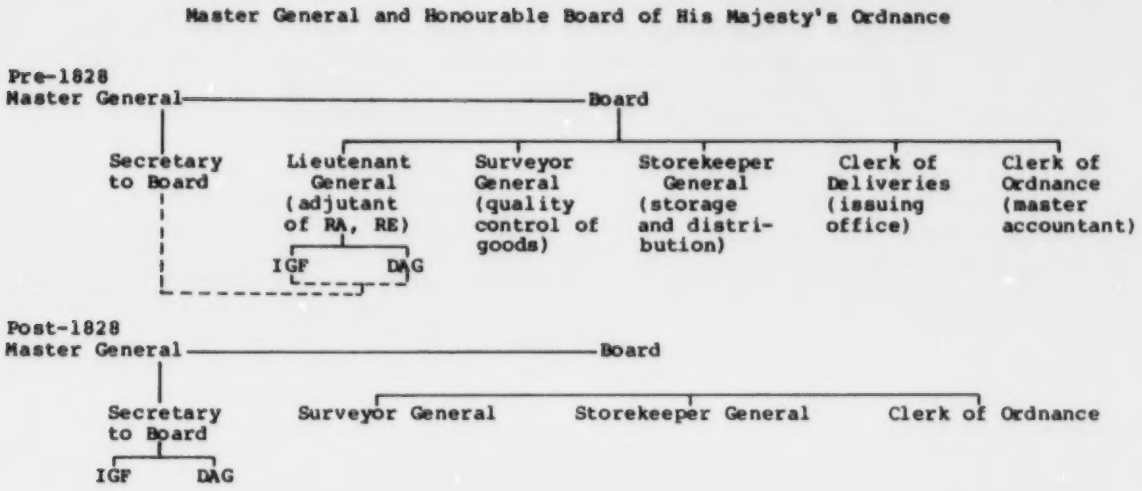

Figure 4. This chart shows the different organization of the Board of Ordnance before and after 1828 when some of the positions were eliminated.

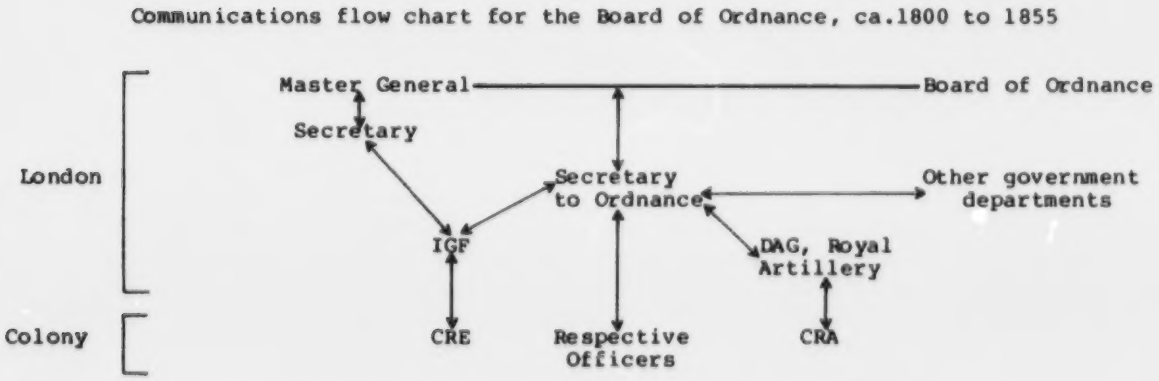

Figure 5. This chart attempts to depict how the representatives of the Board of Ordnance in the colonies communicated with military officialdom in London.

Actually the title "Board of Ordnance" was, at times, a misnomer. It did not always function as a board of directors with the master general as chairman. The problem arose because the warrant for most of the positions on the board left the incumbent with sufficient power to conduct his department independently. In particular the master general's powers were so great "he alone constitutes a board,"[73] but if he did not interfere the board were "competent of themselves to carry on all official business."[74] This could occur when the master general was out of the country or negligent of his duties;[75] an accusation that could not be made of Wellington, Master General from 1818 to 1827. He chaired regular board meetings, which were occasions for discussion of policy and propriety, but after he resigned this routine quickly disintegrated.

> There was bound to be a tendency for this to happen. For one thing the Board had moved to an office in Pall Mall owing to lack of room at the Tower. For another the duties of the members were largely political, and one or more had to be in Parliament to deal with estimates, speak in debates and answer questions,... Wellington had made it a practice to sign or initial papers. Now they were merely endorsed by the Master General's Secretary "the MGO concurs." Virtually the Master General ceased to be President of the Board.... He rarely if ever attended a Board meeting, alleging that matters could be more freely discussed in his absence. There were supposed to be three of these a week, but they were merely occasions on which members signed prepared documents without discussion or minutes. One member could transact all the business.[76]

The lieutenant-general was vice-chairman of the Board of Ordnance,[77] and second in command of the professional corps, engineers and artillerists.[78] He acted as a "sort of Adjutant to the Master, who looked to him for information connected with the various Trains of Artillery in the Tower (of London) and elsewhere ... and also to see that all officials connected with the Department did their several duties."[79] This position of office and personnel manager was abolished in 1828 but revived during the Crimean War when Master General, Lord Raglan, took personal command of all the British forces. The new lieutenant-general "considered his duties did not extend beyond the military side of the work and there was no one in supreme authority."[80] During the war the Board of Ordnance as a management committee completely ceased to function.

The third member of the Board of Ordnance, the surveyor general, was the equivalent of a modern quality control officer. (Despite his name he was not in charge of conducting land surveys). As the second ranking officer on the board and usually a member of the House of Commons,[81] the surveyor general was a very powerful individual. His office inspected all contracts regarding the price, calculations and quality of goods tendered,[82] and he checked all goods received to verify that they met the contract in respect to quantity, quality and price. Occasionally he experimented with new building materials.[83] When he was satisfied he affixed the broad arrow seal (B.O.) of the Board of Ordnance.[84] As Forbes points out, however, this inspection was frequently rather perfunctory and collusion between the surveyor's staff at the Tower and Woolwich and contractors did occur: substandard goods were accepted.[85] With respect to guns and ammunition this problem was spotted very early. Until 1783 the surveyor general supervised two proof-masters who proofed these guns and powder.[86] They were so inefficient that the officers of the Royal Artillery assumed this duty in that year,[87] but he retained superintendence of the manufacture and arrangement of small arms.[88]

Since the surveyor general was responsible for "the due provision and distribution of stores to meet the various demands on the ordnance; and for the correct investigation of the pecuniary arrangement of the department,"[89] he, with the clerk of the ordnance[90] had to sign all warrants for the provision of stores, and the surveyor general's signature alone was required on a bill before the board authorized final payment.[91] Furthermore the surveyor general

> is required to peruse and state his objections by a report to the board, or to allow, as he may judge proper, all bills demanding payment of monies for goods delivered, and for works and services done at home and abroad; he is to examine and allow, in like manner, all accounts of the ordnance storekeepers, of the paymasters of the royal artillery, engineer and other military corps, as well as those of the field train of artillery, and barrack department of the ordnance, both for subsistence and allowances at home and abroad.[92]

Finally the surveyor general was responsible for the preservation of goods in storage. According to the regulations, the stock of ordnance goods at every depot was supposed to be surveyed annually to establish what was serviceable, unserviceable and repairable. This Board of Survey was conducted, seldom annually, by the "Respective Officers" (the commanding Royal Engineer, commanding Royal

Artillery, storekeeper, surveyor and clerk) at each station.[93] These boards of survey are not to be confused with surveys of quartermaster's or barrackmaster's stores conducted by officers of the regular army.

In this last duty the surveyor general came close to infringing upon the functions of the keeper of stores or storekeeper general. After the surveyor general had verified the quantity and quality of goods by affixing the board's seal, the storekeeper general took charge of them. His department accepted, stored and distributed the goods.[94] In 1822 he absorbed the secretary at war's Storekeeper General Department, and with it Ordnance assumed responsibility for providing camp, barrack, and hospital equipment.[95]

The fifth member of the Board of Ordnance, the clerk of deliveries, ordered the storekeeper to make certain issues.

> The Clerk of Deliveries is the Officer who superintends and keeps the Account of the issues of the Stores and Ordnance; he prepares, pursuant to the direction of the Board, an instrument called a "Proportion," directed to a Storekeeper authorizing him to issue certain Stores, particularly specified, to a place therein named; this instrument, being signed by any three Board Officers, he delivers to the Storekeeper as his Warrant for the issue; he receives from him the articles specified, and delivers them to the person who is to receive and convey them; if the articles be arms or ammunition, he takes an indent, by which the person receiving engages to render an account of them.[96]

Most of this receiving and conveying was done strictly in the account books and it was subordinates of the storekeeper who did the actual issuing. In this manner Ordnance had developed a system of duplicate bookkeeping. All goods received were recorded in the account books of the surveyor and storekeeper general, all goods issued in the accounts of the storekeeper and clerk of deliveries.[97] When the office of "Clerk of Deliveries" was abolished in 1828 the bookkeeping functions were assumed by a clerk, the "Examiner of Store Accounts."[98]

The master set of account books was kept by the clerk of the ordnance. As the senior financial officer of the board he had to keep exact records of all contracts let, goods received and issued.[99] Like the surveyor general, this official also sat in Parliament where he presented the estimates for the Ordnance Department. He thus became responsible for all the board's financial transactions, and all contracts had to be sanctioned by him.[100]

> The Clerk of the Ordnance presides in that Office, in which are recorded and preserved all

> the original authorities, instruments, and vouchers, that warrant, describe and authenticate the proceedings of the Ordnance; he is the Accountant of the Ordnance, and as such keeps the Accounts of all the Cash and Stores belonging to the whole department; he draws up the Annual Estimate for Parliament, and the Monthly Estimate for the Treasury.[101]

Finally he acted as the board's recording secretary in matters relating to finance and office administration.[102] He kept a minute book of all orders and instructions for the administration of the ordnance.[103]

These five officials formed the Board of Ordnance but there were a number of minor officials who did not participate in the policy functions of the board. The "Clerk of the Cheque" was responsible for time-keeping and wages and the "Treasurer" for the money, while the "Deputy Keeper of the Armoury," the "Keeper of Small Guns" and the "Master Gunner" handled various aspects of ordnance training and maintenance. There was also a waggon-master in charge of the carriages and siege train and a number of other minor officials.[104] One other official was in a position of quiet but considerable discretionary power. The Secretary to the Ordnance was an administrative funnel for sending materials to and from the board, to and from other government departments, and to and from the board's civil service.

> He presided at the office of Ordnance in the Tower of London, received all incoming correspondence dealing with more than routine matters, sent out all important directives over his signature in behalf of the master general and board, and conducted all liaison work between the Ordnance and the other departments of state, both in writing and verbally. All definitions of departmental policy and documents dealing with important decisions were signed by him.[105]

The Board of Ordnance as a collective body was represented abroad by the Board of Respective Officers. At each station this committee was formed by the senior engineer and artillery officers and the senior representatives of the surveyor, storekeeper and clerk of the cheque. (In 1832 the surveyor and clerk were dropped from the Respective Officers [RO]).[106] When the Respective Officers dealt "in their joint capacity with expenditure of money and stores"[107] they reported directly to the secretary to the ordnance rather than to their administrative chiefs. To him they submitted the annual demand for stores and after 1818, a statement of stores issued the previous year.[108] They also transmitted a monthly statement of money expended for all ordnance services, and any demand for further supplies.[109]

The Respective Officers form an interesting study in the change of emphasis of the board's work. They began with only the civilian element to handle stores, but as the Board of Ordnance assumed more military functions and the professional corps were formed, the engineers and artillery officers were added to the Respective Officers. As pointed out above they became the dominant element and two civilians were dropped.[110] Apparently this shift occurred in the mid-18th century, for by 1766 the commander-in-chief, North America stated that, according to the rules, the senior artillery officer presided, with the engineer next in precedence.[111] By 1832 this had been amended so that the senior of the two military officers chaired the monthly meeting.[112]

The administrative chiefs of the professional corps were two individuals reporting to the master general by way of the lieutenant-general.[113] The deputy adjutant-general of the Royal Artillery[114] handled all the personnel problems of the artillery corps, corresponding with its representatives in the field.[115] Until 1802 the personnel problems of the engineers were regulated by the chief engineer, who was also president of the Committee of Engineers, created by a warrant of 1782. This body of five engineers meeting twice a week considered all plans and estimates for permanent new fortifications and buildings and for alterations to existing installations.[116] The committee was formally abolished in 1802 when its duties were assumed by the "Inspector General of Fortifications," who was also made responsible for the personnel of the engineers.[117] (The inspector general had the authority to convene an *ad hoc* committee of engineers to consider specific problems, such as the committee that reported upon the efficacy of martello towers in 1804.)[118] The inspector general of fortifications, the chief technical officer of the Royal Engineers, was a very powerful individual. All communications coming from the commanding Royal Engineer in a particular command were addressed to "Inspector General of Fortifications." His staff of a deputy or assistant inspector general of fortifications, Brigade Major, and deputy or assistant adjutant-general handled all personnel matters, approved estimates and affixed the inspector general's seal to approved plans.[119] Problems which had to be resolved by other government departments, such as obtaining necessary funds from Treasury, or which needed the sanction of the master general or board were submitted, at the discretion of the inspector general of fortifications, to the secretary to the board.[120]

It would thus appear that the relationship between engineers in the field and the Board of Ordnance was very straightforward. All reports, estimates and plans for permanent works were submitted to the inspector general of

fortifications and all authorizations were received from him. (Understandably temporary field works built during a war were authorized on the spot, with reference to London for payment after the fact). But in 1822 the master general, Wellington, complained.

> The mode in which I understand this business has been conducted is this: The Governor, or Commander in Chief in the Colony, after consulting with the Officers of Engineers, or other Persons as he may think proper,transmits to the Treasury, an account of the necessity of any particular work or Building, such as the Citadel of Quebec, with Plans and Estimate of the probable Expence of constructing it; and the Treasury give their concurrence for its construction.... These Works are in general planned, estimated and executed by the Officers of Engineers stationed in the Colony and paid by the Ordnance Department; but they are not necessarily constructed by these Officers; and at all events they do not at present act under the Ordnance Department in any matter relating to these Works & Buildings. For instance I believe that to this moment this Department have no knowledge whatever of the Citadel of Quebec.[121]

Wellington's accusation is partially borne out by other correspondence. In 1824 Commanding Royal Engineer, E.W. Durnford, in Canada, submitted his estimates for works and repairs to the inspector general of fortifications but after they had received the signature and approval of Commander of the Forces in Canada, Lord Dalhousie. In noting this fact Inspector General of Fortifications, Gother Mann, added "there is therefore little room or occasion for any remarks from me."[122] Because Mann's irritation that his hands were tied by Lord Dalhousie is evident, it may be reasonable to assume that this procedure being followed in the Canada command was not happening elsewhere in the British Empire. The last Halifax Citadel, for example, was built according to the proper procedures: plans and estimates were submitted to the inspector general of fortifications for his authorization before work commenced.[123] Why the commander of the forces was the approving authority in the Canadas in the 1820s is uncertain. Possibly the Royal Engineers began submitting emergency expenses, such as repairs resulting from a fire, to the governor *cum* commander of the forces, for payment from the army extraordinary fund. Maybe what began as an emergency procedure became accepted practice for everything.

In 1826 a very sensible solution was reached: the ordnance officers had to submit all plans and estimates for new works or alterations and repairs to existing works to

the governor so that he could comment. The ordnance officers could proceed with repairs without waiting for sanction from the master general and board, but new works and alterations had to be authorized in London before construction began. In an emergency the governor could order new construction, demolition or alteration but Ordnance would not assume the expense.[124] This decision restored the authority of the inspector general of fortifications to examine and comment upon the plans and estimates of the engineers. When the Board of Ordnance was amalgamated with the War Office on 18 May 1855, the office of Inspector General of Fortifications survived.[125]

Secretary of State for War and the Colonies

The office that absorbed the Board of Ordnance and the Secretary at War's office, originated as the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. Prior to 1794 the cabinet responsibility for military affairs was divided and shifted amongst the secretaries of state.[126] In that year Henry Dundas was named "Secretary of State for War." Seven years later the secretary of state for war became responsible for the colonies too! Henceforth he was more commonly known as the colonial secretary, explaining why some military papers were deposited in the Colonial Office records.

This ministry determined the size of the military force to be maintained and the distribution of that force. Hence the secretary of state for war, after reaching a decision with his cabinet colleagues on the dimension of Britain's armed force, informed the commander-in-chief that a reduction or increase in the establishment was needed.[127] The Secretary of State for War's office prepared any legislation for raising recruits but recruiting was done regimentally under the supervision of the Horse Guards.[128] Furthermore all senior regimental and staff appointments had to be approved by this secretary upon the recommendation of the commander- in-chief.[129] Since the secretary held ultimate responsibility for the conduct of war and military strategy,

> On all occasions of foreign war it was the duty of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to conduct all correspondence with the generals commanding the troops abroad, who all took their orders directly from him. So completely indeed was the Commander of the Forces abroad, under the direction of the Secretary of State, that he did not correspond with the Commander-in-Chief at all.[130]

The secretary frequently made his task easier by appointing

a high ranking military officer as governor and commander of the forces: whether he was writing as secretary of state for war or for the colonies he had only one individual to correspond with in each colony. Wellington told one office seeker that "there is a rule in the Colonial Office that officers shall not be appointed to fill the offices of governor of one of the colonies, of rank inferior to major-generals."[131]

During periods of peace the secretary for war had little influence on the daily administration of the army, beyond determining how many troops would be stationed where, and who would hold the senior command of the troops abroad. In peace, the secretary for war directed his comments and decisions regarding defence and strategy to the Horse Guards and Board of Ordnance: if the secretary for war became convinced that certain forts were no longer necessary for defending a region he would request the Board of Ordnance to demobilize the site after the Horse Guards had withdrawn the troops.[132] In war, however, he became

> the directing influence. He spoke for the Cabinet in military affairs and became the ultimate arbiter both as to the employment of the Army and the Ordnance Corps and to the manner in which it should be equipped, supplied, and maintained.... To some extent therefore all departments, civil and military, became supplying departments in respect of what they could offer to the Secretary of State.[133]

Home Office

The "Home Secretary" had no influence over the British army abroad. Within the British isles he could call out the army for police services. He also was responsible for the militia and volunteers within England:[134] abroad the militia was raised by act of the individual colony, responding to orders of the governor.

The Treasury: "And when I know precisely what is meant by Commissariat"

The "Lords of the Treasury," through their control of the total public revenue and expenditure, exercised control both directly and indirectly over military policy. When the secretary at war or the commander-in-chief wanted to alter existing regulations or institute a new policy which

involved additional expenditures, they had first to seek the approval of the Lords of the Treasury. Sanction by Treasury of such expenditures did not extend to the detailed application of the regulation: this remained the responsibility of the inaugurating body, the War Office or the Horse Guards. The Board of Ordnance was in a slightly different position. As Clode noted, the master general did have peremptory power to expend funds beyond the amount voted for the board in an emergency without the prior approval of Treasury. The other departments could only shift funds from one account to another to meet an emergency abroad, provided they did not exceed the total vote of their department.[135] Eventually, however, all military administrative bodies wishing to spend funds, had to seek authority to do so from Treasury. Therefore the five lords were in a position to indirectly influence any policy matters which resulted in an expenditure. Naturally it is very difficult to assess the extent of this influence. Did the secretary at war compromise a policy he wished to initiate, based upon his understanding of the predilections of the lords, when he submitted it to Treasury?

The Lords of the Treasury had direct control over some aspects of military policy and procedure through the Comptrollers of Army Accounts and the Commissariat Service. The two comptrollers were an accounting and preliminary auditing service formed 26 June 1703 and abolished in 1836[136] when some of their functions were assumed by the Army Audit Office.[137] The comptrollers examined the accounts not only of the funds issued to the paymasters but also of the stores issued to the troops. The comptrollers closely examined all muster returns and compared them against deductions, stores distributed and regulated allowances.[138] They were thus able to compute the cost of a single ration at each station, a calculation the army needed to decide the amount to deduct from each soldier for his board. Furthermore they scrutinized all the contracts for supplies for the army. They reported to the Lords of the Treasury "all frauds, neglects and abuses" which they discovered and suggested possible remedies.[139] This emphasis placed upon auditing and verifying the fulfillment of contracts seems to be a duplication of the general auditing services of the government (and, in fact, the Comptrollers of Army Accounts and the Commissioners of Audit were connected), but in the 18th century

> Auditing meant merely checking of arithmetic. There was no check on excessive spending, or on the delivery of what had been paid for. Such as it was, the auditing was yet twenty years in arrears.[140]

To fill this vacuum in the regulations the comptrollers gradually became more involved in supplies and the contracts for supplies, than in the actual bookkeeping accounts of

monies,[141] and in the early 19th century an additional comptroller was named to supervise the commissariat service, giving them more authority to prevent abuses and frauds in the disposition of stores and the letting of contracts.[142] At the same time their powers were restricted to examining the accounts of commissariat officers and others "to whom money, stores or provisions" were entrusted for military service. Despite this restriction on their powers, no system was established for reporting regularly from the comptrollers of army accounts to Treasury.[143]

The Oxford English Dictionary defines commissariat as "That department of the military service which is charged with the duty of providing food and other supplies for the army."[144] But other departments such as the Quarter-master General, the Storekeeper General and the Board of Ordnance, also furnished supplies, so the concept of a commissariat service must be "precisely" defined as even the model of a modern major-general realized. In the 18th century commissariat officers were "only employed in time of War."

> The Treasury, in short, chose to regard all the varied duties of supplying troops engaged in active operations as simple enough to be performed by wholly inexperienced and untrained men - a conveniently economical theory in peacetime, which regularly proved a costly delusion in war.[145]

In peacetime the army in Great Britain was billetted on inn keepers who were charged with providing room and board for the troops, so that a large organization to provide the basic rations for the men and hay for the horses was not needed. In North America, however, there were not enough inns and taverns to billet the troops: they had to be housed in barracks and fed by an organization of the army. Therefore there were commissariat officers in North America long before the service appeared in Great Britain. Abroad, in Europe or North America, the commissariat officers were civilian employees of Treasury attached to the office of the local commander of the forces.[146]

The history of the office of "Commissary in Chief" in England is very confused. Apparently in 1793 Captain Robert Bisset was named the first commissary in chief "over the Home Commissariat" implying that by that date there was a commissariat service in England. Bisset, however, had little contact with the commissaries whose function was to check that the goods acquired by contracts let by the Lords of the Treasury were received in the quantity and quality specified.[147] His position was evidently a sinecure as he received no monies beyond his salary.[147] Treasury itself handled any contracts for bread, wood, straw and forage, but in 1797 they turned over the responsibility for

letting local contracts for supplying troops in camps in England to district commissariat officers, some of whom reported to Bisset while others corresponded directly with the Lords of the Treasury. A year later they were all made responsible to Bisset's successor, Sir Brook Watson. Possibly because Watson had had considerable experience as a commissariat officer in North America and Europe, his office became responsible for procuring supplies in England to be shipped to the troops abroad. Hence significant changes occurred in the supply system for the armies on foreign service during Watson's ascendancy over the commissariat service, that is between 1798 and 1806. Prior to that period

> Provisions supplied in this country [England] for the service of Armies Abroad, were procured by the Commissioners for Victualling [a department of the Navy] and all articles of Stores, other than Provisions wanted for the same services by the Commissioners for Transports pursuant to special orders from the Treasury.[149]

The provision contracts, of one year's duration, named the garrison to be supplied and required that the contractor name an agent at the garrison. From 1766 to 1775 the firm of Nesbitt, Drummond and Franks held the contract for supplying the garrisons in Lower Canada.[150] As late as 1828 the Commissioners of Victualling were still contracting for salt provisions upon demand of the Lords of the Treasury.[151]

Although Watson had apparently achieved control over the purchase of goods shipped to the commissariat officers in North America he did not supervise the officers themselves. Until James Willoughby Gordon was commissioned Commissary in Chief over the "Forces at Home and Abroad" in 1809, the commissariat officers in North America were responsible to the commander of the army to which they were attached and directly to the Lords of the Treasury. One exception to this rule was the colony of Quebec which had a commissariat officer responsible for the colony: in 1766 this officer was Henry Ellis.[152] These officers reported to Treasury on the foodstuffs they had obtained locally and the quantities that had to be shipped from the British Isles. In a recent comprehensive study of the problems of supplying the British forces during the American revolutionary war, there are only two passing references to seeking advice from a commissary general in England and he was a functionary of the Horse Guards![153]

An examination of the instructions issued to Nathaniel Day when he became "Commissary of our Army in Canada" on 20 March 1776 reveals that he and his staff had charge of all storehouses for provisions and forage and the bakery establishment. They were also responsible for receiving and

distributing all provisions shipped to the army in Canada as well as procuring fresh provisions locally. All receipts and distributions were to be accounted for in a monthly statement, indicating the exact number of rations drawn for each rank.[154] Day's duties therefore related solely to acquiring, dispersing and accounting for stores and provisions: he did not procure specie or negotiate army bills. During the American revolutionary war the financial needs of the armies in North America were handled by English bankers under special contract to the Lords of the Treasury.[155] By 1793, when Brook Watson was named commissariat officer attached to the Duke of York's army in Flanders, the commissariat officers were also made responsible for negotiating army bills.[156]

By 1809 when the commissariat officers abroad as well as those in England were made responsible to Gordon, the duties of commissariat officers included procurement of fresh provisions by contract locally and the procurement of specie by negotiating army bills drawn upon the Treasury. They were also to collect "Reports of the State and Resources" of their territories, and to submit annual reports to the auditors and reports of the receipt and issue of stores and provisions to the Comptrollers of Army Accounts.[157]

Gordon quickly discovered that most of the commissariat positions in the Canadas were patronage appointments of the governor, held by individuals incapable of performing the job. When Gordon sent out Robinson to become "Commissary General of Canada" in 1810, he learned that the commissariat service in Nova Scotia was overextended: they were handling all the stores for the other departments.[158] Furthermore all commissariat officers had been in a position to abuse the trust they held. Some of the "resident commissaries supplied the articles as merchants or tradesmen which it was their duty to provide."[159] James Craigie, the commissariat officer in Quebec, was caught purchasing iron pots from the Batiscan Ironworks, a company in which he was a major shareholder.[160]

Gordon divided the commissariat into two: commissaries of accounts and commissaries of stores and provisions. The former were responsible for examining all accounts of the army within their area of responsibility with the exception of those of the regimental paymasters, who submitted only monthly estimates.[161] The latter were responsible for money, transportation and supplies. The senior commissariat officer negotiated all bills drawn by the deputy paymaster general for the "Pay, Subsistence, and ordinary Expenses of the Troops" and all bills of exchange for army extraordinaries and ordnance and navy expenses as required.[162] This was a particularly onerous responsibility in a period when so many different currencies were in use, all at different and fluctuating rates of

exchange. In addition the commissariat office was responsible for providing transport services for the army within each of the commands. Therefore the bateau service which operated along the Richelieu and St. Lawrence rivers was provided by the commissariat.[163] Finally they were responsible for permanent supplies of bread, oats and forage. Meat was included in this list in the colonies but not in England until later.[164] They were also responsible for barrack supplies of coals, candles, straw, bedding and barrack utensils of every description for the army at home and abroad. These supplies were

> furnished under Contracts made in London after public advertisement, except when the Supply wanted is so small, or the urgency of the case does not admit of the delay necessarily attending such mode of providing, in which case, persons in the habit of supplying the Article required, have been desired to send in Proposals, or the Prices have been regulated by the Marke [sic] Prices of the day. The Contract for Coals, Candles and Straw for the Barrack Department, is for such quantities as may be required during a period of twelve months, not exceeding the Allowance for the full Establishment of each Barrack. The Bedding and Utensils are provided on the special requisition of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Barracks, through the Lords of the Treasury.[165]

The only supplies which, at this time, were not acquired by contract were building materials and the Indian presents for Upper and Lower Canada.

> These, in consequence of the numerous articles, and the difficulty in collecting and shipping them in regular order, are provided for at a Commission of £.2 per cent. They have hitherto been provided by Messrs. Goodall and Turner, and payment is made for them upon the Bills of Loading: the check on the prices is the production of the Tradesman's Accounts regularly signed.[166]

Although the commissariat acquired goods for several military departments, they were not necessarily responsible for deciding what to order, storing or issuing goods. For example, the commissariat service contracted for stores for the quarter master general, barrack master and surgeon general but the commissariat delivered these items to the storekeeper general, who stored and issued them.[167] Where there was no storekeeper general's representative the commissariat usually stored and issued these goods as well as the food for men and horses, which was their first responsibility.[168]

This system was altered in May 1822 when new regulations, transferring the Barrack and Store Branch of the commissariat service at foreign stations to Ordnance, were issued. The ordnance storekeeper then became responsible for the storage of everything but provisions and storage. The commissariat retained full responsibility for estimating, contracting for, storing and issuing all food and forage. They also retained the responsibility of issuing fuel, candles and oil at those stations where these goods were stored in, or close to, the provisions and forage. In addition the commissariat prepared the tenders and contracted for all building materials and other goods, as well as day labourers, required by other branches of the military service. When these goods were received they were immediately transferred to the ordnance storekeeper or barrack master, who entered them in their respective account books.[169] The commissariat continued to be responsible for negotiating all bills on the Treasury, providing the regimental paymasters with the pay for the troops, and paying all staff appointments and military pensions. They paid the lodging, fuel and office bills for the various military departments and continued to provide "all Land and Inland-water Transport."[170]

Naturally the wide range of responsibilities assigned to the commissariat resulted in an extensive account system.[171] In an effort to economize the Commissariat of Accounts in the Canada command was abolished in 1830[172] and the responsibility for accounts was transferred to the Store Branch. Nevertheless

> in a Command where the issues of Cash and Provisions are so numerous, and where also the interchange of Cash transactions between the various public accountants that is, Regimental Paymasters, Ordnance Storekeepers, and Commissariat Officers, at the different Posts throughout the Command, are of such constant occurrence, there would be no sufficient security either for the public or principal accountant, unless an examination of the accounts took place on the spot whilst there was yet time to obtain, where necessary, full vouchers, and to correct any errors or improper issues of either kind....[173]

Army Audit Office: "A mechanical check"[174]

The cash accounts of the commissariat, except for the pay and pension accounts, were examined by the Army Audit Office, a branch of the Commissioners for the Audit of

Public Accounts dating from 1785.[175] When the five commissioners of audit were first named, two were to be the comptrollers of army accounts previously described.[176] Until 1835 when the comptrollers were merged into the Audit Office, they did a preliminary check on the accounts, looking specially at the manner in which contracts were arranged, but the final audit of the bookkeeping was done at the Audit Office. The merger was an economy decision.[177]

Paymaster General: "Ample opportunity for self enrichment"[178]

The Army Audit Office also examined the accounts of the Paymaster General to the forces, an office created in 1662.[179] This political officer was the army's banker: he drew from Treasury "a stated sum for a specified service" but Treasury was not in a position to judge whether or not he needed all the funds requested. As long as the funds requested did not exceed the parliamentary vote, the paymaster general was issued the money. "There was here an incentive in a Paymaster, and a temptation to him, to requisition larger sums than were strictly necessary, since he was permitted by custom and not forbidden by law to employ to his own profit such part of his balances as was not immediately required for expenditure."[180] Henry Fox and Richard Rigby made considerable fortunes by playing with their books in this fashion.

The funds drawn by the paymaster were to pay the ordinaries of the home, colonial, mediterranean and militia forces as determined by the establishment drawn up by the secretary at war. Ordinaries refers to the pay, pensions, allowances and subsistence of the troops, staff and retired members of the forces. Since these forces were seldom at the established level, the paymaster could draw more than necessary, using the surplus as he wished until the annual accounts were drawn up. The paymaster general also paid the army extraordinaries, virtually every other charge, following orders from the general in each command.[181]

In addition the paymaster was allowed poundage, the deduction of one shilling in each pound paid to the troops. Until 1771 the paymaster general received part of the poundage, as did the regiment's surgeon and agent, and Chelsea Hospital.[182]

A decade after poundage ceased to be a charge against the soldiers' pay, the whole system by which paymasters were making money on the public purse was revealed and changes were initiated. Instead of Treasury transferring funds directly to the paymaster general, funds were transferred to

his account at the Bank of England. Furthermore the paymaster had to notify Treasury of the balance in his account before requesting funds. The Finance Committee of 1797 was thus able to report that

> The Paymaster-General had no active control over the Public Expenditure; it being his duty to make payments ministerially and without discretion, in pursuance of Warrants directed to him by the Secretary at War or the Treasury....[183]

He became the army's bookkeeper.

When the paymaster general drew funds for the ordinaries, he issued the appropriate amount to each regimental agent, the individual or firm, like Greenwood, who held the colonel's power-of-attorney to act as the banker for the regiment.[184] Until 1797 the agent then issued the actual pay of the regiment to one of the officers, who was appointed regimental paymaster. The regimental paymaster in turn issued the funds to the captains who paid their own companies.[185] The regimental agent also handled all the colonel's transactions to acquire clothing for the men,[186] and often acted as banker for individual officers, keeping their pay on account, paying their bills in England, and regularly remitting fixed amounts to their accounts in the command.

In 1797 an additional officer was appointed to each regiment, the regimental paymaster, so that the combatant officers did not have to do this extra duty. "Each Captain continued to act as Paymaster to his own Company."[187] At the same time the secretary at war began bypassing the regimental agents, issuing instructions directly to the regimental paymasters. Often the position of regimental paymaster was offered to officers on the half-pay list.[188]

In 1835 the offices of Paymaster General of the Forces, the Paymaster and Treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, the Treasurer of the Navy and the Treasurer of Ordnance were amalgamated. To this larger office of "Paymaster General" the offices of Paymaster of Exchequer Bills and Paymaster of the Civil Service were added in 1848.[189]

The Army Medical Board

Prior to the creation of the Army Medical Board in 1793, medical services for the infantry were administered by several independent officers. The physician general recommended physicians, the elite of the medical service, for commissions, had "control over local apothecaries, advised on the treatment of medical diseases in the

hospitals, and presided over the examination of candidates for hospital mate."[190] (Physicians were all university graduates, while surgeons had far less training and until 1783 were able to buy and sell their commissions.)[191] The surgeon general chose the surgeons, while the apothecary general selected all the medicines and dressings which fitted out the chests of the regimental surgeons.[192] Until 1783 medicines were actually paid for by a stoppage levied against the soldiers. In addition there was an "Inspector of Regimental Infirmaries" both in England and abroad, an appointee of the Horse Guards, to inspect the regimental hospitals and to try to maintain some standards amongst the surgeons.[193]

In October 1793 the secretary at war attempted to impose some coordinated direction on military medicine: the Army Medical Board, consisting of the physician, surgeon and apothecary generals, was formed. But the co-ordination lasted for only a short time and by 1798 the Board was a board in name only.[194] Eventually it was recognized that, "the disunion which exists among the principal members of the Army Medical Board is productive of very serious inconvenience to the public Service,"[195] and a parliamentary enquiry was held in 1808.

In 1810 the Army Medical Department was formed under a director general and two principal inspectors.[196] Under the directorship of James McGrigor, the army medical services were regularized, and concern centred on the quality of treatment offered.

> The duties of the board [Department] are to recommend to all the medical appointments, and to controul [sic] the conduct of all the medical officers and hospital servants belonging to the army; to superintend the whole expense of the department; to order medicines, materials, and hospital stores of all kinds, and to controul the expenditure of them; and to examine and check the tradesmen's bills, and to order the payment of them.[197]

The director general supervised the activities of two types of organizations in the field. First there were the regimental medical officers, who held commissions in a particular regiment and obeyed the orders of the commanding officer. The director general tried to maintain standards of professional knowledge and supervise the types of treatment offered by the regimental officers. Second, there was a smaller group, the medical staff officers, who were attached to the general hospitals in the bigger centres or were named to treat a whole garrison. The officers were directly answerable to the Army Medical Department.[198]

The Board of General Officers

The Board of General Officers was initially established in 1714 to advise the monarch in the absence of a centralized administration for the army.[199] When the office of "Commander-in-Chief" was created, the responsibilities of the board were confined to the clothing of the infantry and cavalry. In 1799 the board was formalized as five generals and the adjutant-general. In 1816 the board consisted of 55 members, of whom five were appointed for a year's term.[200] This body established the official patterns and standards for each piece of clothing and accoutrement, and supervised the individuals who inspected the clothing contracted for by each regimental colonel to determine that it met the standards.[201] There were many opportunities for substandard cloth or clothing not of the approved patterns, to slip past the inspectors or to be substituted. In June 1855 the board was abolished and total responsibility for clothing was transferred to a "Director of Clothing" reporting to the secretary of state.[202]

Board of Chelsea Commissioners

This board, which consisted of politicians and two military officers,[203] administered Chelsea Hospital, the first veterans' home. In addition it examined directly or indirectly through the medical officers' reports, all discharged soldiers to determine the amount of their pensions - pensions were based partly on the extent of disability. The board paid pensions[204] in Canada through the commissariat under the board's instructions. The board's responsibility for out-pensioners was transferred to the War Office in 1840, when numerous abuses were discovered.[205]

Reorganization: "Military system was exposed to nation's horror"[206]

The movement to reform army administration began following the Napoleonic Wars as part of the attempts to reduce military expenditure. The opposing forces in the struggle were the Horse Guards, army officers, and the Tory party supported by the personal prestige and political power of the Duke of Wellington against the Radicals, Whigs and

the Secretary at War. In 1829 Wellington admitted

> In truth the organization and economy of our army are not its brilliant parts. Its conduct in the field is unrivalled.... The organization suits the purposes of our service in peace and war.... But it would be ridiculous when opened in all its details....[207]

A few minor reforms, such as the changes in the Board of Ordnance in 1828, were made by the anti-reform forces, partially to forestall further criticism, but in 1833 a number of cabinet ministers spurred by Secretary at War, Edward Ellice, later Lord Howick, began a concerted effort to examine army administration. The first royal commission, named in December 1833, failed to agree upon its findings, but some changes were made in accounting, particularly the amalgamation of paymasters general and the creation of the Army Audit Office. A second commission was created in December 1835, and reported to Parliament in March 1837. Its report died: the complex political coalition and the unanimous opposition of army officers killed it.[208]

Wellington and his cronies managed to fend off all significant reforms. Then Britain went to war with Russia in the Crimea and the administration broke down - completely. To chronicle the failures of the administration during that war takes books. It was a failure that had to be acknowledged by all, including the British public who learned about medical, clothing and transport disasters from the first war correspondent.

Reform began in June 1854 when the position of Secretary of State for War and the Colonies was split and a new secretary with sole responsibility for war was created. He managed the War Department. The following December the commissariat was transferred from Treasury to the new department.

In February 1855 the first step was made towards uniting the two secretaries for and at war, when Panmure was named to hold both. The position of "Secretary at War" was finally abolished officially in 1863.

In March 1855 responsibility for the militia was transferred to the secretary for war and on May 25, 1855 the supply departments of the Board of Ordnance came under his purview while the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers were transferred to the commander-in-chief. The "clog on the machinery"[209] was no more - the Board of Ordnance was dissolved.

After all the changes were made, there were two responsible bodies: the War Department and the Horse Guards. The basic difference between them was materiel and men. The consolidated War Department assumed all financial responsibilities, including the commissariat, the militia, the medical department and the duties of the Board of General Officers.[210] Instead of the Board of General

Officers, the new department undertook to relieve the regimental colonel of his responsibility for clothing the soldier. To do so it created a clothing factory and at the same time established a small arms factory.[211] The commander-in-chief expanded his control to include command and discipline of artillery and engineers.

This violent realignment of the army's administration occurred during an emergency. It was not perfect and during the following years some of the problems surfaced. Over the next decade there were several commissions recommending reorganization. Two significant changes occurred by 1870. First the Control Department began to function in 1868 but was legally recognized in 1870. This was actually a branch of the War Department under the surveyor general of ordnance who was "a military officer of high rank and could occupy a seat in Parliament."[212] In reality it was a resurrection of the Commissariat under a new title with responsibility for all stores but munitions, transport and supply.[213] In 1875 the title, Control Department, was abolished, but the duties remained under the surveyor general who became just another branch head under the secretary of war.[214] Second the War Department was reorganized into three divisions. Reporting to the secretary of state were the financial secretary responsible for financial matters, such as pay, estimates, and accounting, and the surveyor general of the ordnance responsible for materiel (described above). Thirdly and most significantly, the commander-in-chief reported to the secretary of state,[215] becoming his principal military advisor. The War Office Act of 1870 completed what almost every secretary of state had tried to do: it made the commander-in-chief subordinate to the political head of the army. The Horse Guards remained but in name only: the War Office was supreme.[216] In practice the commander-in-chief was independent (the secretary hesitated to interfere with the Queen's cousin) but the secretary was the only voice of the army in Parliament.

The administration of the British Army had changed dramatically from 1759. In that year there were 11 bodies making decisions affecting the British soldier. By 1875 there was one major department, with an important branch, the Horse Guards. The army was no longer the monarch's personal force but rather it had gradually been forced to submit to the political power. Many of the problems of the army still existed, but henceforth they would be approached by a unified organization.

ALCOHOL: "ENLISTED FOR DRINK"[1]

"To be brief, the State offered every inducement in the way of monotonous diet, monotonous occupation, climatic discomfort, bad housing and abundant alcohol that could lure men to drink; and then deplored the drunkenness of the Army."[2] Sir John Fortescue's statement is an accurate reflection of soldiers' lives for most of the period from 1759 to 1870; alcohol provided the only outlet for men whose lives were devoid of variety and comfort. Furthermore, the men were confronted by an ambivalent official policy. On one hand, they were given alcohol, or the money to buy it, every day, while on the other, they were flogged for exhibiting its effects.

In England, before 1800, small or weak beer was issued as part of the soldier's allowance. Supposedly the ration was five pints per man per day, but there is no record of small beer being issued to the troops in British North America.[3] This exception to the regulations may have occurred because troops in North America were quartered in barracks, while those in the British Isles were billeted in taverns and victualled by the innkeeper, who had cheap beer readily available.

Instead of small beer, the troops in North America received varying quantities of spruce beer, a decoction made by boiling spruce and molasses together and adding yeast.[4] The resulting liquor was so effective against scurvy that at first the army brewed its own.[5] Almost 600,000 gallons of this beverage were issued in the Canada command during the last six months of 1780.[6] But three years later, the issue of spruce beer was stopped,[7] possibly because the men were receiving enough fresh rations to make a scurvy preventative unnecessary.

The cessation of the issue of spruce beer did not entail the end of a liquor ration, for from 1759 till 1830 soldiers were issued a gill of rum a day. Unlike spruce beer (which they had had to pay for),[8] this rum was free. The issue was supposedly limited to soldiers on active or war service, or performing extra work (called fatigue duty) but there are indications that rum was issued every day, regardless of the nature of the duty.[9] Eventually the soldiers had to be reminded that "the Issue of Rum to the Soldier is an act of Grace upon which he cannot found a right."[10]

Many of the officers strenuously opposed free rum. In 1826 four officers recommended the substitution of beer for the rum ration, alleging "that the present Issue of Rum to the Troops is not only injurious to the Constitution of the Soldier, but extremely prejudicial to Discipline."[11] These officers believed that the rum ration developed a taste for strong alcohol which encouraged the soldiers to spend their own money on yet more rum, which was cheap. Furthermore, the issue of free rum eventually conditioned recruits to hard liquor, debilitating their constitutions as it had the older soldiers. Finally, the rum issued was used as an excuse for breaches of discipline, even though it was diluted with water one to three and issued in half rations.[12] The commander-in-chief refused to approve the substitution of beer for rum because of the increased costs.[13] But at some point in the following few years, the rum ration reverted to its original purpose as an allowance for troops performing exceptional duty. Thomas Wiley commented that the regular rum ration had ended by the time he enlisted in 1828,[14] but the order to stop the issue in the Nova Scotia command did not take effect until 31 May 1831.[15]

Before the regular rum ration was ended, the army began paying the men beer money. This was an extra allowance of ld. per day, instituted in 1800[16] to ensure the men of at least enough money to buy their beer. A soldier's pay, therefore, was calculated at ls., from which all deductions were taken, and ld. per day. The men who were free of debt received more than ld. spending money at each pay parade, but those who were under extra stoppages were assured of their penny's-worth of beer.[17] The army ended this practice in 1863.[18]

To summarize, during the period 1759 to 1863 the army was issuing a gill of rum or beer money to each man daily. From 1759 to 1783 the men were given rum and forced to buy spruce beer, while from 1800 until approximately 1830, they received both the rum ration and beer money. Given the official policy of dispensing one type of alcohol or another, the existence of drunkenness in the ranks is less than surprising.

Drunkenness Prevailing

The problem of over-indulgence in spirits was amplified by the pay policy used by most regiments until 1822. Before then, men were paid only on the twenty-fourth of each month.

> So much money coming into the hands of so many men, all at once, & at the same time, led to

> scenes of waste, profligacy & debauchery....A perfect Saturnalia of riot, & drunkenness prevail[ed] for some days....[It] was a difficult thing sometimes, to find enough sober men, to carry on the duties of the Regiment. It took many days, before it was restored to "its right mind again."[19]

When the army changed its system and paid the men daily, there was a significant decline in the number of men court-martialled for drink.[20]

If the soldier's pay, and therefore the amount he drank, was spread over the whole month stopping the uncontrollable behaviour of the last week of each month, it did not end alcohol-linked crimes. Drunkenness was "the root of all evil" and "the prolific source of misconduct and Immorality."[21] It was the most common factor in breaches of the Articles of War and especially of insubordination.[22] More soldiers were charged with and found guilty of, drunkenness than of any other crime.[23] Almost every soldier drank, and it would seem that most drank to excess when they had the money.

Simply being drunk happened so often that no legal system could have handled all the cases. Therefore a soldier had to be charged with habitual drunkenness or drunkenness on duty before he was brought before a court martial. A study of the courts martial in Upper Canada for the years 1838, 1839 and 1840 shows that the number of cases of "drunk on duty" averaged 32.83 per cent.[24]

Although "drunk on duty" was one of the crimes not punishable by death or transportation, it was "a most serious crime"[25] and the convicted soldier was usually severely flogged. Nevertheless, James Wolfe complained that at Halifax there were "Sergeants drunk on duty, two sentries upon their posts and the rest wallowing in the dirt."[26] Apparently this dangerous situation had not been completely rectified 80 years later. The standing orders for the Halifax garrison in 1838 admonished the officer commanding a guard to be sure "that no liquor whatever is brought either into the Guard Room or within the area attached to it, (and as far as lies in his power to prevent any man of the Guard from tasting any spirituous liquors.)"[27]

"Drunk on duty" was an easily defined breach of the Articles of War, since it encompassed all those times when a soldier was fulfilling a military function. Habitual drunkenness, however, was a far more nebulous charge. In an attempt to clarify the definition of this term, the adjutant-general described four different cases of habitual drunkenness. The first was the soldier who had been recorded in the defaulters' book as drunk on a specified number of occasions in one year.[28] The second was the soldier previously found guilty of habitual drunkenness who was recorded as drunk twice within six months after his

court martial. A variation on this case was that of the soldier who was drunk on duty once within six months of being convicted of habitual drunkeness. Finally, a soldier whose name was entered in the defaulters' book as "drunk on duty" several times in a year could be charged with habitual drunkenness. In each of these cases, every instance cited in the charge had to have been entered in the defaulters' book.[29]

Habitual drunkards received some sort of physical punishment, flogging or imprisonment, and a loss of pay. Unfortunately the regulations are unclear whether it was the 1d. per day for beer or an additional 1d. per day which was deducted for habitual drunkenness.[30] Six soldiers in Montreal who were repeatedly found guilty of the offence were finally discharged as incorrigible drunkards and therefore lost all their pension claims.[31]

The statistics on inebriation among the ranks of the British army in North America suggest an abnormally high consumption of alcohol. Actually the drinking problem in the ranks in Canada was considerable, but it never reached "the extraordinary inebriation"[32] of soldiers in India, nor was it exceptional for people of the lower class in England. As Sir William Codrington, writing of the army in the Crimea, explained, "the majority of the Army, as I always found in a regiment, is good, are not drunkards; and this national vice...is not confined to soldiers."[33] Indeed, "the abuse of ardent spirits" was a problem throughout the colonies.[34] Since liquor was cheap - 6d. a quart for whisky - nearly everyone drank.[35]

"Everyone" included the officers, the men who should have set an example of temperance for the ranks. When Wolfe was host to a dinner for 47 officers before the Louisbourg expedition left Halifax, the company consumed 70 bottles of madeira, 50 bottles of claret and 25 bottles of brandy.[36] Even Prince William drank heavily while he was stationed at Halifax,[37] and the Horse Guards actually had to write a memorandum about the frequent "Instances of Intemperance on the part of the Medical Officers."[38] At Fort Garry in 1846, Colonel Crofton wrote, "the officers made enough noise last night to make one fancy bedlam had emigrated to Red River. This uproar and debauchery is so pernicious in example to the soldiers that I have determined to put a stop to such a riot."[39]

Crofton and others like him tried to stop the drunkenness in the army in various ways. While Crofton vowed to reform his officers, others tried to divert the soldiers. One officer decided to keep his troops busy by adding extra guards and parading the men every day at noon.[40] Maxy Hammond sought to establish a reading room for the garrison at Kingston "in the hope of keeping some out of the canteen during the winter evenings,"[41] and one of his successors at that post begged for more library books, as "experience

has fully shown the good effects of those Libraries, and the inducements they hold out to withdraw the Soldiers from drinking houses."[42] Some temperance groups, like the Total Abstinence Association in Montreal, were organized among the soldiers.[43] The Teetotalers in Halifax held dinner parties followed by "speeches, Recitation and songs by Sergeant Cook and songs by Private Paterson of the 78th." The Band of the 78th also entertained, in an effort to make abstention attractive to their barrack-mates.[44] Nevertheless, the number of adherents to these groups was probably a depressingly small proportion of the ranks.

Early Canteens

There were always individuals willing to provide refreshment to those soldiers who chose to imbibe. Before the army fully developed its own commissariat service, sutlers followed the army, supplying food and drink.[45] The best known, and probably the most unusual of these, was Mother Ross, who had disguised herself as a soldier to find her husband in Marlborough's army. When she was wounded and her gender discovered, Kit Ross became a sutler.[46]

Sutlery began in North America during the Seven Years' War. At Fort Beauséjour in 1757, 20 to 30 retired soldiers were licensed as sutlers by the commanding officer. They had

> acquired small fortunes sufficient to inable [sic] them to become merchants and dealers, and are consequently rendered useful, in supplying the troops with all manner of European clothing, furniture, haberdashery wares, liquors, provisions, etc. which they import from Boston, New-York, and sometimes by way of Halifax directly from England.[47]

Those sutlers who were marching with the army against New France were licensed by the commanding officers; the provost guard kept order over their encampment in the middle of the army. The sutlers with the army on Lake Champlain sold rum,[48] but those with the victors in Quebec were forbidden to sell spirits, since the army issued daily "as much rum as is consistent with the health of the troops." When the sutlers in Quebec did not obey the order and the drunkenness of the troops continued, all sutlers' licenses were withdrawn in late November 1759.[49]

During the American Revolution, some soldiers' wives became sutlers. Since it was illegal for non-commissioned officers, privates, and their wives to sell liquor,[50] Major Smith and the commanding officer at Isle aux Noix had to warn the women that, if they were caught handling liquor,

they would be drummed out of their regiments, thereby losing their food and lodgings.[51]

When the troops were properly quartered in barracks, the men could buy alcohol at local taverns, such as the Neptune Inn in Quebec (Fig. 6). Brunswick Street in Halifax was nicknamed "Barrack Street" because of the taverns that catered to the troops. One-third of the military police in the garrison towns patrolled the streets and public houses looking for soldiers who were drunk.[52] There were many, especially given the price of alcoholic beverages; beer was 6d. a quart, 3d. a pint and 1½d. a glass. The price actually decreased (to 4d. a quart and 2d. a pint) if beer was taken out of the tavern.[53] Significantly, the price of beer in the 1840s was the same as the price of whisky reported by Sir James Alexander.[54]

Since there was no way of preventing soldiers from bringing liquor into barracks, the officers chose to control

Figure 6. The Neptune Inn. Quebec, 1830, by J.P. Cockburn. (Public Archives Canada.)

the use of alcohol by regulating canteens within the garrisons. A canteen in North America is first mentioned at Montreal in 1788, when the hours were established (from after morning parade until 8:00 p.m.). Neither gambling nor cards was permitted in the canteen. By 1794, there was another canteen on the Niagara frontier.[55]

These canteens were apparently organized on the cognizance of the commanding officer alone, for no official mention of them is made until the regulations of 1811, which stated,

> No wine, Beer, or Spirituous Liquor, is to be sold within the Barracks to the Non-commissioned Officers or Private Men of any Regiment stationed therein, except at the established Canteen, where a regularly licensed Sutler is appointed by the Commissioners for the Affairs of Barracks, for the purpose of Supplying the Soldiers, at fair and reasonable Market Prices, with Provisions, Liquors, &c. which are required to be of the best quality. No Tippling is to be allowed in any of the Barrack-Rooms allotted for the use of the Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers.[58]

It would seem, then, that after barracks were built in England (after 1794), the army establishment converted the existing licensing system for sutlers on the march to canteens in barracks. It was not until 1825, however, that the Board of Ordnance realized that canteens could be profitable.

At some point in 1825, canteens were transferred to the Respective Officers at each station, who leased them out. The lease could be broken on one week's notice by complaint of the commanding officer.[57] Using this power, James Kempt closed the canteen at Annapolis Royal, which was being kept "in a most irregular and disorderly manner" by the sutler, a woman, who was serving the townspeople as well as the soldiers.[58]

In the 1830s, further regulations to govern the contracting of canteens were established. All leases were to be for a three-year period, the rent being a fixed sum plus privilege money, a monthly payment "for every ten men in barracks."[59] Privilege money was abolished in 1835 when the rent was converted to a weekly amount. The successful lessee had to provide adequate sureties and samples of all alcoholic goods he intended to sell, together with their prices. A list of all goods sold (both alcohol and food) and the corresponding prices had to be prominently displayed in each canteen. Tenants could still be evicted on one week's notice[60] for failure to obey rules, such as the ones dealing with hours. Liquor could be sold from noon until either 9:00 p.m. or tattoo in summer, and from noon until 8:00 p.m. in winter, but only to sober soldiers

and never to their wives or children.[61] The lessee was forbidden to sell liquor to be taken out of the canteen, except to officers, and gambling was not permitted on the premises.[62]

A Board of Survey investigating the management and prices of the canteen in the LaPrairie barracks revealed some violations of the regulations. The absentee tenant had not shown his employee his contract or the written orders governing the conduct of the canteen. The employee, therefore, was not aware that he should not sell alcohol to civilians. Nevertheless, he had used his own judgement wisely and had usually refused to sell to the soldiers on credit. He had, however, served one soldier on guard duty who had gotten drunk. Otherwise, the board was pleased by the quality and prices of the goods sold, liquor and basic food items, with the exception of the price of beer. A glass cost 1½d., which was not in proportion to the 4d. charged for a quart. A glass of beer, a shot of whisky and a shot of rum cost the same amount.[63]

This conformity in the prices of hard liquor and beer disturbed the army officials. They first increased the price of hard liquor in order to create a demand for beer[64] and then (in 1848) prohibited strong drink in the canteen. This administrative attempt to curb inebriation did not bring about

> any beneficial result...the very prohibition creates, or increases the desire of the Soldier and the consequence is that he no sooner leaves the Barracks than he enters the first tavern, and there gratifies his desire in an increased ration; I would further add that Drunkenness in the Battalion during the past year ending 31st July 1849, has increased about 15 per cent upon that of the year preceding.[65]

Another regiment reported no significant change in the drunkenness of the unit during the year following the prohibition of spirits in the garrison.[66]

The embargo on hard liquor was in response to criticism of the canteen system made in Parliament in 1847. Colonel Lindsay stated in the House of Commons that the soldier was paying exorbitant prices for canteen goods so that the tenants could recover the £65,000 a year paid to the army in rents. Lindsay further held that the presence of the canteens encouraged all recruits to become alcoholics. Fox Maule promised a review of the existing canteen system, and this resulted in the prohibition of hard liquor.[67]

Regimental Canteens

Fifteen years later the canteen system was drastically changed. Instead of private enterprises, the canteens became regimental institutions; their profits were funnelled back into extra benefits for the men. After 27 October 1863, all canteens were run by a standing committee of three senior officers who supervised the canteen sergeant and his two assistants. The profits, which were not allowed to accumulate over £200, were to be

> applied to the provision of additional newspapers, periodicals, stationery, or other authorized applicances to the libraries and reading rooms, to the purchase of apparatus for games, such as cricket-bats and balls, skittles, quoits, footballs, theatricals, etc. and to the purchase of any articles for the convenience of the Canteen establishment which are readily removable, and which the Regiment might wish to carry with it from station to station. They will not be permitted to be applied to charitable objects, or for the benefit of Soldiers' wives and families.[68]

This last exception was removed in 1866, when an eighth of the profits could be spent on married couples. "It is suggested that the latter amount might be expended ... in providing the children with a suit or portion of a suit of clothing, which might be of uniform pattern and colour."[69] At the same time, the War Office recommended spending the profits on athletic prizes, seeds or tubers for regimental gardens or extras for the men's Christmas dinner. Furthermore, items like whitewash brushes and lime, which had been part of the barrack damages charges, were transferred to the canteen account. In addition, a twelfth of the profits could be spent on the sergeants' mess. (Barrack damages were previously assessed equally against all men living in quarters. By the new arrangement, the soldier no longer had money deducted from his pay on this account.) An examination of the canteen letter-book of the 97th regiment, stationed in Halifax from 1876 to 1880, shows that most of these suggestions were followed. Whitewash brushes and "Parsons Household Ammonia" were bought for barrack maintenance. Money was allotted annually for a picnic for the women and children and for a gala Christmas dinner costing 2s. 6d., per sergeant, 2s. 6d. per woman, 1s. 6d. per private and 6d. per child. In addition, mitts and a comforter were given to each child. The men of the regiment were provided with fur gloves from the canteen fund while the band received white buff music card cases. The regimental butchers were clothed in blue serge suits and the letter carrier got a new bag. The men's living

conditions were improved by the purchase of one extra lamp for each barrack and a clock for the guard room. Finally, money was spent on athletics; the skittles alley and cricket field were kept up and the regimental shooting club was given a telescope and money for markers and for fatigue men to set up the targets for a match. The sergeants' mess was given help in establishing an athletic club and prizes were provided for regimental athletic events - all from the canteen fund.[71]

These purchases were made possible by a profit mark-up of 20 per cent (permitted by the Horse Guards) "on any article sold in a Regimental Canteen."[72] Using these profits, the regiment built up an account which reached £700 by 1879,[73] despite the purchases listed above. Obviously the profit limit of £200 had been removed by this date.

Groceries

Part of the canteen's profits was made on food sold to be eaten on the premises or to be cooked in barracks. The War Department provided an initial outlay of "plates, cups, knives and forks, pewter pots, tumblers, etc."[74] for cooking in kitchens (such as the one attached to the canteen in Fig. 7). These kitchens were actually better equipped than the list quoted above would indicate. The canteen of the 53rd Regiment, stationed in London, had these dishes plus the various measures and glasses needed to serve beer and liquor. It was also able to prepare tea and coffee and to make snacks at least of bread, butter, cheese and meat. In addition to frying some foods, it could spice them with ginger, pepper or nutmeg. The canteen committees at some posts also augmented their equipment by purchasing such items as weights and measures, coffee roasters and coffee mills with the canteen's profits.[75]

The canteens also sold groceries to be prepared in the barracks, as mentioned above. The largest consumers of these staples (coffee, tea and sugar) were married soldiers. These items were sold free of the import duties paid by Canadians.[76] In addition, the canteens in Canada carried a few meats, spices, vegetables, tobaccos, and sewing and cleaning goods. The stock list of the Canadian canteens was almost identical to that established by the War Office in the 1850s; both emphasized basic foods - oatmeal, rice and baking powder, the ingredients necessary for plain cooking. In two areas, however, the English list was far more extensive. English canteens stocked a variety of beers, stout, pale and scotch ale, in addition to the porter and mild ale sold by Canadian canteens. English canteens also stocked a greater variety of tobaccos and cigars.

When canteens became regimental organizations, some of

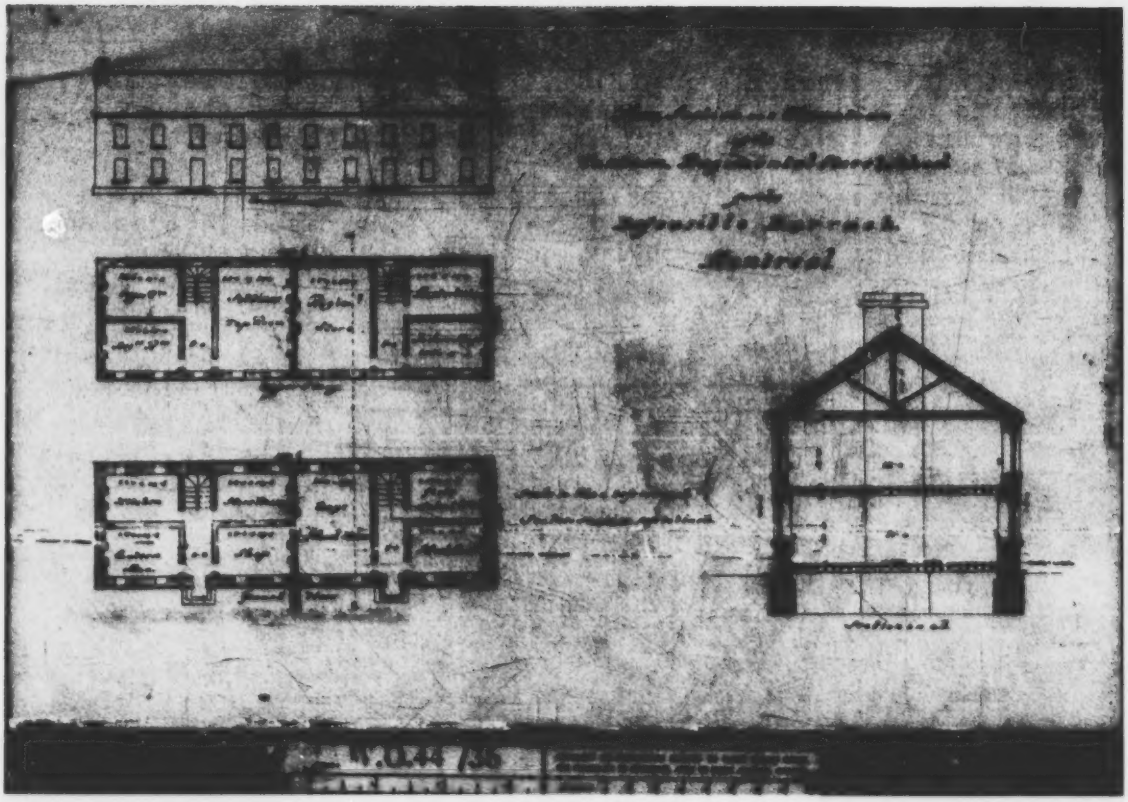

Figure 7. 'Plan, Section and Elevation of the Canteen ... Montreal." (Public Archives Canada.)

them began to import items for the officers' and (possibly) the NCO's messes. In Halifax, for example, the officers' mess committee of the 97th Regiment apparently used the canteen to import such luxuries as pâté de fois gras, capers, truffles and caviar. The mess was also the most probable buyer of the seven-pound tins of black pepper, curry, mustard and candied peel and the one-pound tins of jams - raspberry, strawberry, gooseberry, black currant, red currant, green gage, damsom, apricot and marmalade. The various sauces, pickles and biscuits imported from England by the canteen probably ended up on the mess table as well.[78]

Nevertheless, the canteens did most of their business selling beer. During six months in 1867, the Quebec Gate Barracks Canteen sold 16,993 gallons of ale and 3,234 gallons of porter. This beer was purchased locally from brewers such as Oland and Sons in Halifax. It was bought in barrels and stored in basements or on the floor beneath the

tap room (Figs. 8 and 9) and brought to the tap rooms by beer engines.[79] These tap rooms were the only places in which soldiers were supposed to drink within the garrison, despite the picture of two soldiers of the Quebec militia drinking in barracks (Fig. 10). The form one soldier is sitting on is extremely plain, compared to the canteen furniture proposed for the Royal Artillery Canteen in Halifax shown in Figure 12.

Sir John Fortescue claims that the regimental canteen system as founded in 1863 had many serious disadvantages and that soldiers were not buying goods at the cheapest

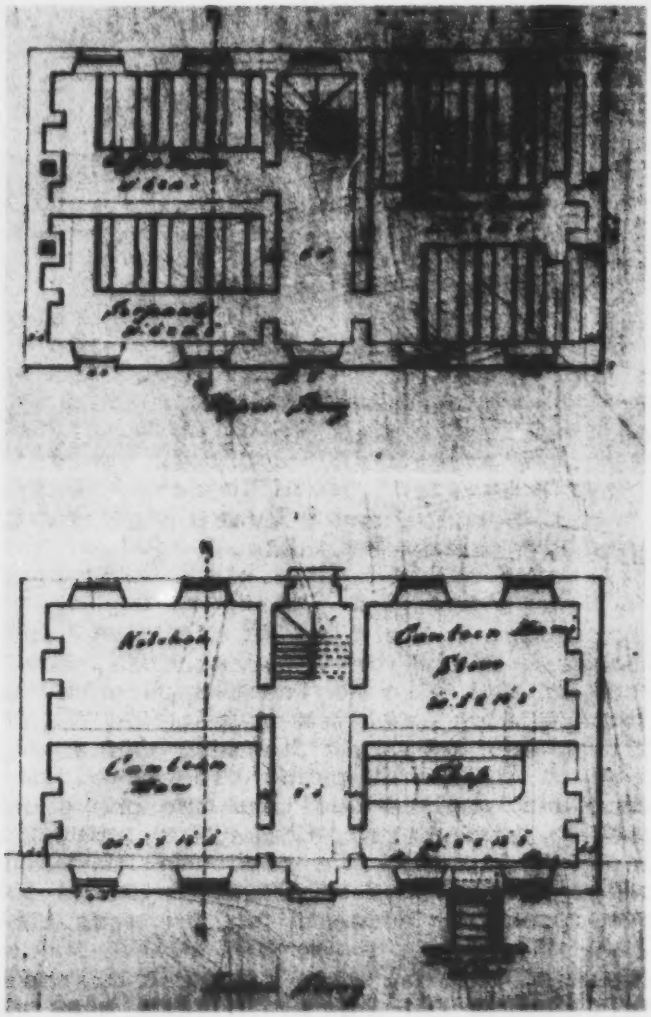

Figure 8. Plans of the canteen at Burlington Heights. (Public Archives Canada.)

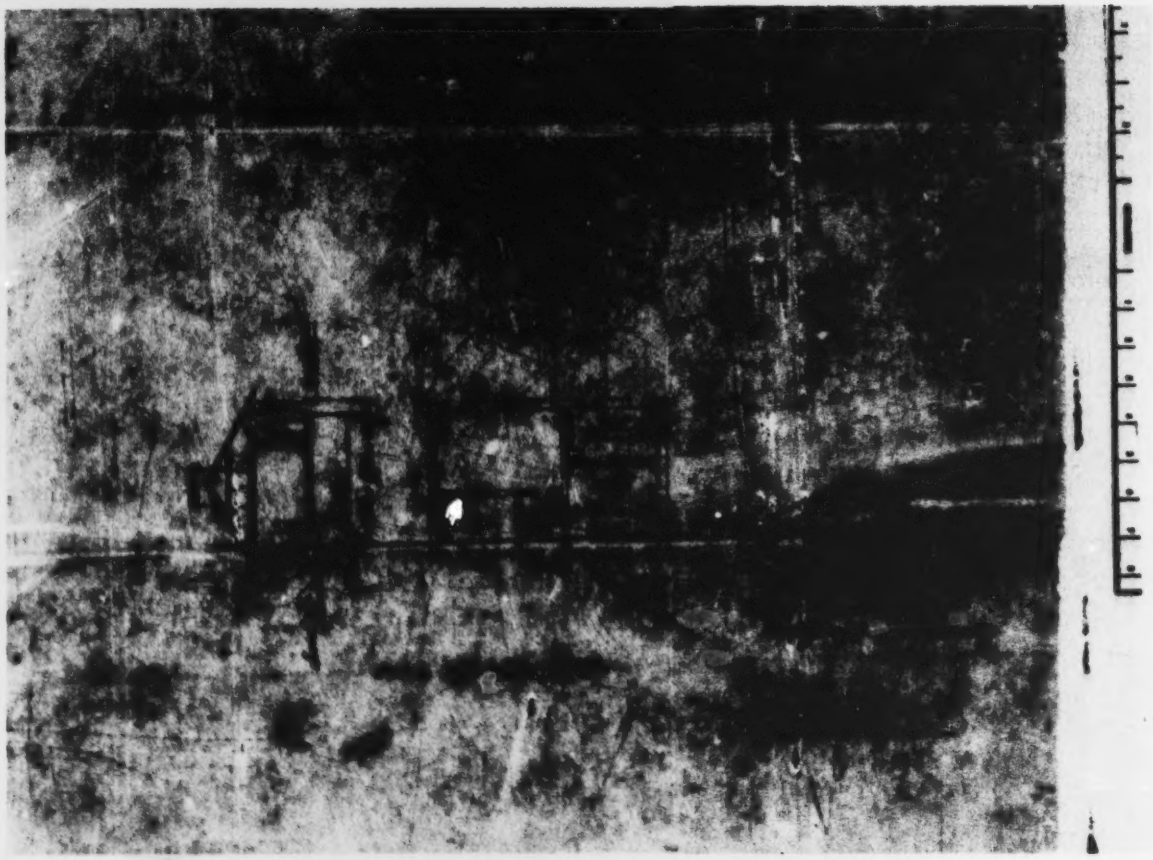

Figure 9. "Plan of a Canteen" for Penetanguishene, 1829. (Public Archives Canada.)

prices.[80] Nonetheless, this arrangement, which lasted until the Canteen and Mess Co-operative Society was founded in the 1890s, was a most important improvement in the lives of soldiers. Not only were the profits from their canteen purchases controlled by the War Office, but they were also spent to improve the living conditions of the troops. Furthermore, soldiers could buy tariff-free from the canteen some groceries which they had had to pay duty on before. Although canteens did not end the problem of drinking in the army, there was a radical change from the years when soldiers were paid once a month and went on binges. By 1871, the War Office had made changes which discouraged the consumption of hard liquor, made food as available as beer, and made canteens comfortable, respectable gathering places for the troops.

Figure 10. Quebec Light Infantry, 1839, from *The Quebec Volunteers*. These two militiamen are quartered in a British army barrack. Note the Board of Ordnance poster in the background, the gun racks and the form. (Public Archives Canada.)

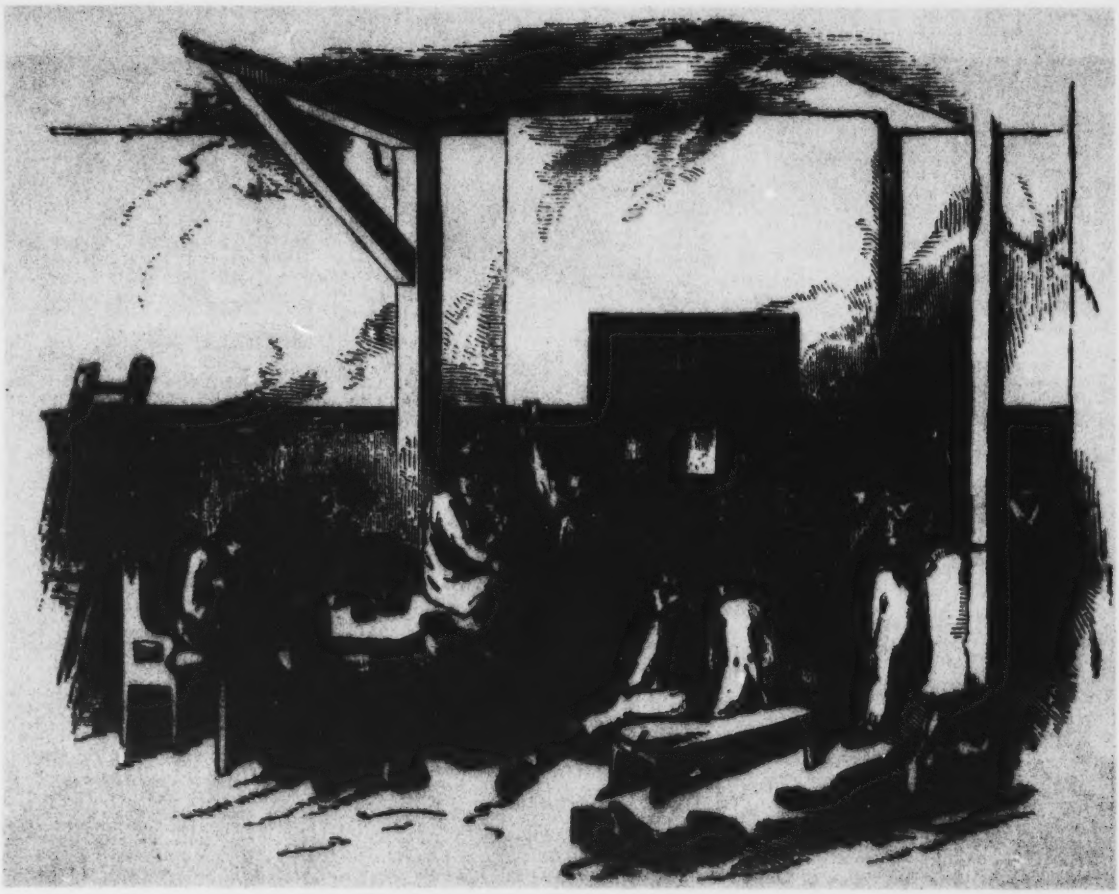

Figure 11. An English barrack canteen, 1848. (*Illustrated London News*, 26 Aug. 1848.)

Figure 12. The furniture proposed for the Royal Artillery canteen in Halifax was rather more graceful than that shown in the preceding drawing of an English canteen. (Public Archives Canada.)

Figure 13. Canteen, Cambridge Battery, Halifax, in the 1870s.

DESERTION: THAT DISGRACEFUL CRIME

Desertion from the British Army in North America was a problem of major proportions and incalcuable costs. Nowhere else in the empire did so many men flee the colours so easily, committing "a crime so disgraceful to the Character of a British soldier."[1] The penalties for desertion were severe, but soldiers continued to flee to the United States to find refuge from all the problems of service in the king's army.

The worst of these problems was lack of direction. The men did not have enough positive activities to occupy their time between parade dismissal and the beating of tattoo. "Common soldiers often became thoroughly disgusted with their monotonous, hopeless, and often annoying mode of life," and were therefore "susceptible to any advice which promises a change."[2] Sir James E. Alexander was

> convinced that monotony, a dull routine, is the chief cause of desertion, yet I am sure that some old officers say that the men off duty ought not to be bothered too much; that it is enough when they come off guard, if they rest themselves for a time on their "stretchers" and then take a saunter through the streets. I allow that it is highly injudicious to interfere with the men too much, but everything ought to be put in their way to induce them spontaneously to occupy themselves usefully, and to keep themselves from feeling listless and rest themselves not on their stretchers, but on the bench of a public house.[3]

Unfortunately, soldiers rarely had the money to pay for their own recreational equipment. Their net daily pay was a pittance, only enough to buy a little beer. Given the length of time it would take to hoard up a small sum and the probability of theft, the possibility of saving for something special was remote. Moreover the army discouraged saving; only in 1843 did it reluctantly provide savings banks. The officers were convinced that a man with some money had more reason to desert, for he had a stake in his own future. Yet these banks actually worked as a check upon desertion.[4]

Many men were enticed to desert by the disparity between their wages and those earned by civilians. In 1813 a soldier's basic pay was one shilling a day with an extra

10d. a day if he was sent on a working party, while common labourers in Halifax were earning between 4s. 6d. and 5s. a day. Civilians' wages were inflated by the wartime economy - which also raised the prices of goods bought by soldiers and civilians alike - but soldiers' pay remained the same. Moreover soldiers were paid at a disadvantageous exchange rate, when their pay was converted from English currency to dollars.[5] The expenses of soldiers and civilians were almost identical, however; the only additional item a civilian had to pay for was housing. This wage disparity was even greater for skilled privates such as shoemakers, tailors and blacksmiths.

The financial problems of British soldiers were compounded by their being sent to North America. Immediately upon their arrival, their wages were stopped to pay for winter clothing - greatcoat, fur cap and mitts. This extra burden on their pay left them for many months considerably in debt and the soldiers could not afford to enjoy themselves among their friends. This extended impoverishment was part of the reason so many privates deserted during the first year they were stationed in North America. When this situation was alleviated by the establishment of the Winter Clothing Fund in 1839, desertion rates dropped drastically for the years 1840 to 1844 (Appendix C).[6]

Being sent to North America entailed extra expenditures, but being sent to the West Indies frequently cost men their lives. The estimates for yellow fever fatalities in those islands are staggering; 80,000 soldiers died between 1794 and 1796, and one regiment lost 1,500 men. No wonder the garrison at Kingston suffered a sharp increase in desertions when a rumour started that the regiment was to be transferred to the West Indies.[7]

A panic such as the one that spread at Kingston in 1804 affected recruits and long-service men equally. Normally, however, there was a strong negative correspondence between length of service and numbers of deserters. According to one return, almost three-quarters of the deserters in the 9th and 39th regiments had served four years or less, while in the 24th Regiment, 13 out of 15 deserters had served seven years or less (Appendix C).[8]

Many recruits discovered that military service was not the grand parades and glorious adventure they had dreamed about and that the recruiting sergeant had claimed. Those who "lamented the sad step"[9] they had taken, and who were faced with the prospect of years of service before they could purchase their discharge or receive their pensions, fled at the first opportunity.

Furthermore, the high rate of desertion among recruits was partly premeditated. Many young men in the British Isles enlisted in regiments going to, or already serving in North America. Shortly after arriving in the Canadas, such

recruits deserted to the United States where they joined friends or began earning the money to bring their families over. The army was, therefore, something of an unofficial and reluctant emigration service. Commanding officers consistently accused the Irish of emigration enlistment.[10] This accusation is not surprising since a large proportion of the rank and file were Irish and accordingly figured prominently in any activity of soldiers. Moreover the 19th century was a period of considerable economic disruption in Ireland, and many who could raise the passage money emigrated to North America. For those too poor to buy steerage accommodation, the king's colours provided an alternative to poverty and possible starvation in Ireland. Often the men who chose to desert were assisted by other Irishmen already settled in North America.[11]

According to E.R. Wetherall, Deputy Adjutant-General, Irish and English soldiers often deserted rashly; they dashed off impulsively without first making plans, wandered aimlessly and were apprehended close to their garrisons. Wetherall accused the Scottish soldiers of premeditation; they tended to plot their routes and to wait for an opportune moment and thus were seldom captured.[12]

Wetherall made no distinction between good and bad soldiers, but Major Grierson found that "the greater portion ... [of deserters] were men of indifferent character, requiring while in the Regiment, much coercion and restraint to keep them within the bounds of moderate discipline."[13] Sir James Alexander also argued that it was the unruly soldier who deserted, and frequently one who had been previously punished for attempting to desert. According to the figures given in Appendix C, almost 15 per cent of the deserters who were apprehended between 1845 and 1850 had been court-martialled previously.[14] Undoubtedly many of those who deserted a second time did so with more forethought and were never caught.

Some officers also believed that there was a significant difference between the desertion rates of single and married men. In an attempt to reduce the high rate of desertion at Isle-aux-Noix, that post was reinforced only with married men and their families in December 1832. (Supposedly these men had commitments or encumbrances which prevented flight.)[15] Isle-aux-Noix, like other border stations, was a popular point for departure.

Desertion rates fluctuated according to the garrison and the time of year. The low point came during the months of December and January when rivers and lakes were half-frozen and deep snow was on the ground and walking on land and ice was difficult. In February the number of desertions increased sharply because solid ice formed at points like Kingston, allowing men to run across to French Creek or Sackets Harbour.[16] As the ice melted and the ground thawed in March and April, all forms of transportation became more difficult and the rate dropped slightly.

The period from May to October was the easiest time to desert. In places like New Brunswick and along the Richelieu Valley, soldiers could walk to freedom, as the two deserters whom Lieutenant James Cumming Clarke depicted (Fig. 16) were trying to do. At Kingston, Niagara and Amherstburg the river was narrow enough for some soldiers to swim across.[17] Others at these posts stole small boats and fled to the United States. One writer, John Bigsby, watched a deserter cross the Niagara River in a small skiff with another boat with five soldiers in pursuit; the deserter just managed to escape. Other soldiers stowed away on schooners crossing the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence or engaged in the trade between Halifax, Saint John and New England. Finally, a few deserters stole horses. In his autobiography, William Lighton describes his theft of an officer's horse, the bitterly cold ride south from Montreal in February and his capture before he reached the border.[18]

Lighton had planned to steal a suit of civilian clothing from an officer, but he was flustered at the last moment and fled in his regimentals. Soldiers were not permitted to own civilian clothes as a measure to discourage desertion, since a solitary man in uniform heading toward the border was apt to be questioned. Most deserters, therefore, tried to steal a suit of civilian clothing so that they could be less conspicuous. One soldier was actually impersonating a woman when he was captured. A few soldiers, on the other hand, deliberately deserted in uniform in the belief that if they were caught the sentence would be lighter or the charge would be reduced to one of absent without leave.[19]

Civilian clothing was one of the lures held out by crimps, Americans who sought potential deserters. By exaggerating the disparity between the wages of American labourers and British soldiers and by promising the latter assistance in crossing the frontier, the crimps supplied American employers with cheap labour. Occasionally the crimps were blatant enough to post advertisements just outside the barrack gates, announcing wages of a dollar a day in the United States.[20] Such wages, coupled with civilian clothes, a few dollars and a boat to cross over in, were tempting bait to many British soldiers.

Crimping was always a factor in the desertion rate, but its importance increased drastically when the American army was in search of recruits. In 1847 Sir Charles Chichester lost 13 men in two days; they were offered bounties of $12 to enlist in 10 regiments being raised in the United States.[21] Twelve dollars was a pittance, however, compared to the bounties paid during the American Civil War. When the Union government instituted conscription in 1863, it permitted conscripts to provide substitutes. Deserters were obvious choices, and wealthy Yankees paid them, or the

crimps who provided them, astonishing bounties of $400 to $700.[22]

Not every soldier accepted these bribes, and a few reported crimps to their officers. The reward paid to soldiers and civilians for information leading to the arrest and conviction of a crimp was raised from $50 to $200 in 1864 because of the prevalence of the crime during the Civil War. At the same time the cities of Montreal and Kingston were awarding an additional $50 for crimps caught within their boundaries.[23] Convicted crimps were originally sentenced to demeaning punishments such as two hours in the pillory or flogging through the streets. During the Civil War, however, the penalty for crimping was increased to a fine of £20 or several months' imprisonment.[24]

American crimps were not the only civilians abetting desertion. Throughout the period in which the British army was stationed in North America, its officers accused the colonists of assisting deserters, either to thwart the British government or to procure cheap labour. The problem was serious enough to receive the attention of the Nova Scotia legislature, which passed an act in 1801 increasing the penalties for harbouring or encouraging deserters. Nevertheless, in 1863 the problem was still so serious that the British Parliament passed a statute permitting sentences of six months on conviction of knowingly abetting a deserter.[25]

In addition to negative measures to discourage civilians from helping deserters, the army used a more positive approach; any civilian who captured a deserter received a bounty of £5. In order to help civilians identify deserters, the army published in newspapers, descriptions of the clothing and physical characteristics of men who had gone missing. Furthermore, the regiment informed the deserter's family and home parish that the man had committed a felony.[26]

In keeping with the Mutiny Act, soldiers could not normally claim the bounty for reporting a deserter. Instead they were required to serve on lookout parties, which tried to capture men before they reached the border. Small parties of soldiers were quartered along the frontier at Coteau-du-Lac, Clifton, Niagara, Queenston, Long Island, and St. Margaret's Bay and Prospect in Nova Scotia.[27] Lieutenant Clarke's series of watercolours show a lookout party in New Brunswick in the 1850s starting out, setting a trap and capturing two deserters (Figs. 14-16). Lookout parties were supplied with descriptive returns of deserters such as the one shown in Figure 17.

These lookout parties only recovered a small proportion of the deserters. As Appendix C shows, less than 15 percent of the deserters from three regiments were apprehended. This low return may be partly a reflection of the attitude with which some officers pursued deserters. Sir Charles

Figure 14. A detachment in pursuit of deserters, St. Andrews, N.B.; water-colour by Lieutenant James Cumming Clarke. (Public Archives Canada.)

Figure 15. A lookout party on the ambush for deserters near Fredericton, N.B., ca. 1850, by Lieutenant James Cumming Clarke. (Public Archives Canada.)

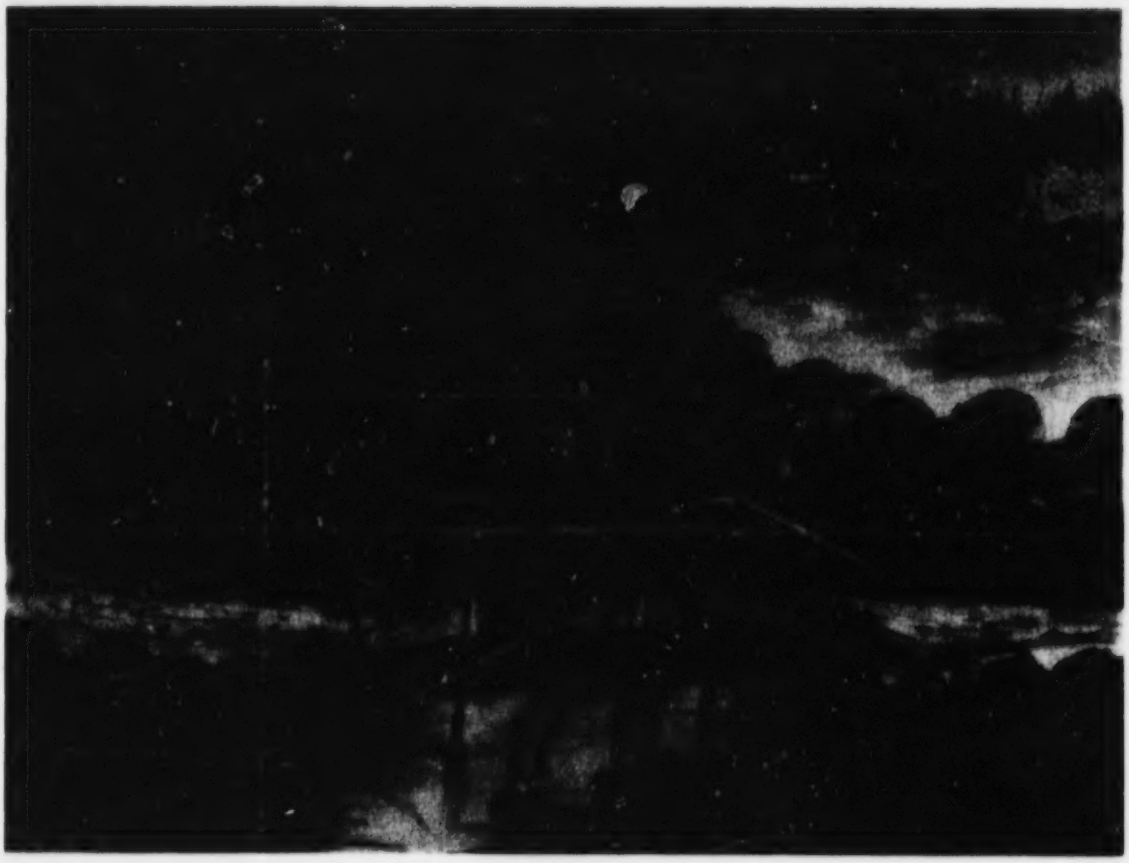

Figure 16. Ambush: the capture of two deserters near St. Andrews, N.B., ca. 1850, by James Cumming Clarke. (Public Archives Canada.)

Chichester actually rejoiced when some "scoundrels" fled and apparently did not strive to recover them. This officer was so disappointed when one deserter turned himself in that he wrote, "what a nuisance such a fellow returning when we were in hopes we had seen the last of him."[28]

Other problems arose when lookout parties became too zealous. Two officers from Amherstburg, who pursued a deserter across the river, were arrested in Detroit for breach of the peace. This incident did not deter later lookout parties, however, and commanding officers repeatedly warned them that crossing the border was illegal and - ironically enough - made the pursuers liable to trial for desertion.[29]

Deserters had not always been safe once they were in American territory; in 1808 the two armies on the Niagara frontier had a reciprocal arrangement for returning

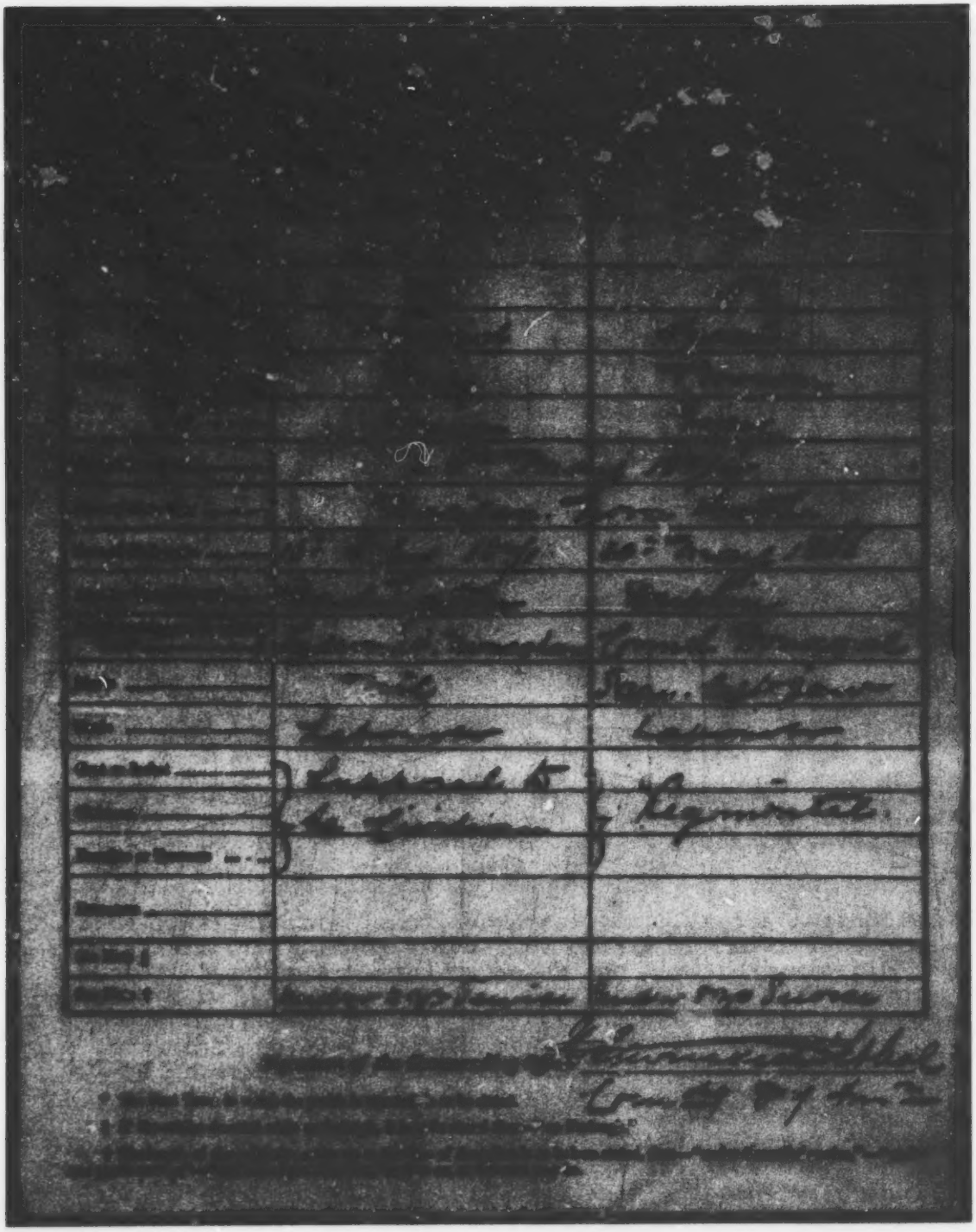

Figure 17. Report of two deserters, 1874.
(Public Archives Canada.)

defectors. By 1848, however, such amicable agreements had ceased to exist. The tenth article of the Webster-Ashburton treaty provides for extradition for murder, robbery and forgery, but not for desertion.[30] Supposedly deserters could be brought back legally if they committed one of these felonies in conjunction with running away, but the New York courts defined robbery so precisely that Stephen Walsh, an acknowledged defector from Saint John, New Brunswick, was not extradited for taking keys and a penknife.[31].

Successful deserters began creating new lives outside the purview of British officers. Most of their officers visualized a gloomy future for the runaways; partly out of self-justification or professional pride, partly to discourage further desertion, the officers claimed that most deserters ended up in the much-maligned American army.[32] Gilbert Elliot, an officer stationed at Toronto in 1849, wrote home:

> I saw a Yankee soldier belonging to a regiment just opposite Toronto who told me that he had enlisted almost all the men who had deserted from us lately, besides a dozen men who were discharged with their own consent as incorrigible blackguards; he said there were only seven Americans in the regiment, the rest were almost all British deserters.[33]

Occasionally a deserter wrote back, begging for pardon so that he could return to British territory. The officers published such penitent epistles, naturally, in the hope that they would dissuade other men from running off. But they were reluctant to grant pardons for such a serious offence. A universal pardon was, however, extended to deserters from the regular forces at the end of the War of 1812, and by 1850 there was a procedure for obtaining pardons. Deserters could petition the Secretary of War, pay £20 and receive a pardon and protecting certificate. Unfortunately, there are no statistics for the number of pardons granted.[34]

The unsuccessful deserter faced a general court martial and the possibility of capital punishment. Usually deserters were not executed unless they had fled to the enemy in war time. There were, however, exceptions, like Charles Grisler, who was shot to death at Niagara in 1793. Ten years later the Mutiny Act was altered to permit the courts to transport deserters for life or for a term of years,[35] and thereafter most deserters were transported. Throughout this period the army used flogging as an alternative to capital punishment, but the frequency with which it was administered dwindled with the measures leading to the abolition of flogging in 1871.

After military prisons were established in the 1840s, courts martial began to sentence men to imprisonment at hard labour. Sentences of this nature slowly replaced

transportation until by 1855 most deserters were awarded periods of hard labour ranging from several months to four years.[36] During the 1860s most deserters were sentenced to 672 days at hard labour, but this was reduced to 336 days if the soldier had had a good reputation. Conversely soldiers with bad reputations were awarded 50 lashes in addition to the 672 days. Any non-commissioned officer was immediately reduced to private when he was convicted of desertion, and anyone who had made away with his equipment or clothing had his pay stopped to recover the value of the missing items.[37]

As Appendix C shows, 70 per cent of the convicted deserters between 1844 and 1857 were branded "D" for deserter. The 30 per cent who were spared this ignominy were often "young men of previous good character who appeared to have been thoughtlessly drawn into the crime." By their leniency the officers hoped to restore young first offenders as useful soldiers. But, as the officers so frequently lamented, none of these punishments was a significant deterrent. Flogging one did not stop others,[38] and "when a Culprit is removed for any considerable time from the observation of his Comrades, they care very little whether he has been transported or imprisoned."[39]

Since reprisals did not deter the soldiers, some officers suggested garrisoning the border with selected bodies of men. Major-General Isaac Brock made one of the earliest proposals for a special force. He suggested that a veteran battalion, a force of long-service men, be posted in the Canadas at the border posts. As an inducement for these steadier soldiers to remain loyal, they would be given land upon their discharge.[40] In 1806 the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion was formed for service in North America on this basis. Thirty years later the Horse Guards drew up a new prospectus for a veteran regiment whose "principal feature ... is to counteract the Crime of desertion from the Regiments of the Line on the Frontier." The Royal Canadian Rifles was originally composed of volunteer soldiers with 15 years' service, but this was lowered to ten years' service in 1849.[41] After ten years in the Royal Canadian Rifles, the soldiers could claim a pension on discharge. This special regiment for the "Frontier Posts" had two indulgences: instead of the customary allowance of six wives per 100 men, 12 per 100 with supernumeraries drew rations in the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment. Furthermore, "the Soldiers will be allowed every opportunity for profitably employing their leisure time in Agricultural labour, or in handicraft, when not engaged in the performance of Military duty."[42]

The Royal Canadian Rifles was raised on the basis of several principles which supposedly reduced desertion. Because married soldiers had a lower desertion rate, there

was an unlimited number of them. If a woman had been drawing rations in her husband's first regiment, she continued to draw them in the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, even if the unit already had its 12 women per 100 men. The financial situation of all soldiers of this regiment was above average. Not only were they paid non-commissioned officers' rates, but they were also permitted to earn extra money by working in the community, thereby removing all financial incentives for desertion. Furthermore, these men had expressed a wish to establish themselves in the colony. By applying for a transfer to the Royal Canadian Rifles they committed themselves to permanent service and discharge in North America. But most importantly, these were long-service men, the category with the lowest desertion rate.

Unfortunately it is not possible to judge the effectiveness of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment in preventing desertion. There were certainly some desertions from the regiment, but because the records were not broken down according to regiment, the exact number of men who fled cannot be determined. It is definitely possible that the desertion rate would have been much higher during the Crimean and Civil wars if regiments of the line had been stationed at the border instead of inland, at stations such as London and Montreal.

Elsewhere officers tried various innovations to reduce the rate of desertion. One officer in Halifax tried repressive measures as a preventative; he confined everyone to barracks and ordered hourly roll calls, "all which produced little effect whilst the epidemic [of desertions] lasted, & which ceased of its own accord, almost as suddenly as it had begun."[43] Other officers, especially those who felt that monotony was a contributory factor, tried to keep the soldiers active. William Rowan urged

> the construction of Fives Courts, and Cricket Grounds at the several Barracks...for the amusement of the men in summer, and that the Barrack rooms should be better lighted and rendered more agreeable during the long evenings of a winter of six months duration. - These improvements might tend to keep the soldiers out of the public houses, the fruitful source of all their crimes.

Rowan continued by describing bowling and suggesting that lean-to alleys be constructed beside the barracks. Sir Charles Chichester adopted an original method of coping with desertion which altered the way of recording the loss of a man's services. Chichester encouraged his men to buy their discharges instead of running away.[44] The effective strength of his unit still declined, but the regimental record looked better.

Chichester's method did have one advantage: it avoided

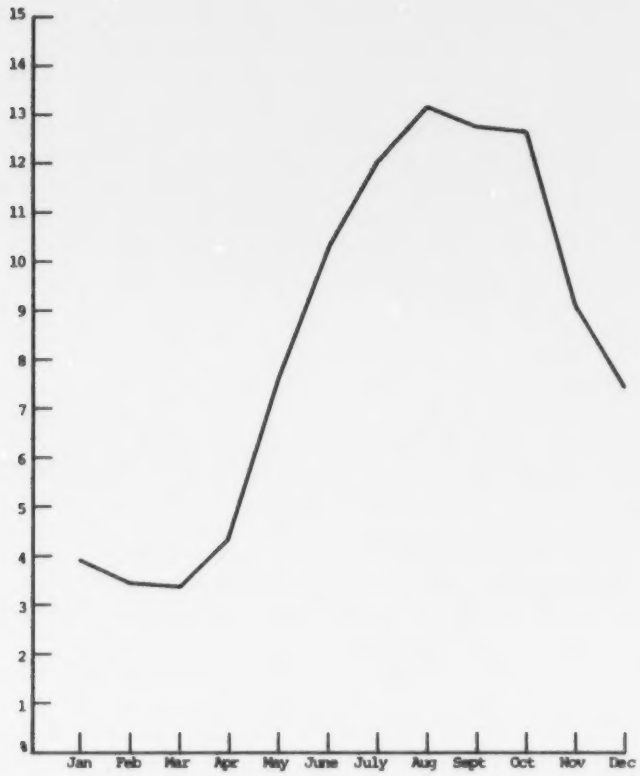

Figure 18. Desertion in the Nova Scotia Command 1815-65, expressed as a monthly percentage of the total number of troops in the command. (Drawing by Steve Epps.)

some of the costs of desertion. No estimates have ever been attempted, but desertion was an expensive problem. If a soldier fled successfully, the army had to replace him with a recruit. Recruits had to be found in the British Isles, paid bounty money, shipped to Canada and trained. Whether or not the deserter succeeded in escaping, lookout parties had to be maintained at several posts, detached from their barracks. In 1864 the cost of pursuit and rewards averaged $31.31 per deserter.[45] If he were apprehended, the army incurred the costs of imprisoning him before his trial and after it. Convening a general court martial was very expensive; senior officers had to be brought together from several posts - an especially costly item in winter. When the court sentenced a man to transportation, the prisoner had to be escorted to England or Bermuda; when it awarded imprisonment, it had to maintain the deserter in a penal institution.[46] Regardless of the punishment, the regiment lost the services of the deserter as part of the force, and his colleagues had to share his work-load. Hence

desertion involved the costs of apprehension, punishment and replacement. The total cost in money and man-hours was incalculable, and when multiplied by the number of men who fled from the Union Jack in North America, it becomes staggering.

Desertion also placed constraints on strategic planning for the defence of British North America. During the American Civil War, Newcastle used the high rate of desertions as an argument for not reinforcing the Canadas. This forced the commander-in-chief in North America, Fenwick Williams, to arrange the distribution of troops in relationship to their propensity to desert.[47] Desertion and its prevention, therefore, were constant factors in military planning for British North America. As Sir Colin Campbell claimed, "in all his experience in different parts of the World [desertion] was until lately, unknown to him, to be carried to such an extent."[48]

DISCIPLINE: "FOR NOW THE KING'S DUTY LIES HEAVY ON ME"

Discipline is at the heart of any military body. Its presence ensures a well-ordered existence; its absence results in chaos. It is a doubled-edged weapon - it means the inculcation of order, drill and immediate obedience, on one hand, and the act of punishment for disobedience on the other. This chapter will deal with the latter aspect.

Each man who accepted the king's shilling submitted himself to military law, a set of rules and regulations which applied only to the military and which defined the limits of its discipline.[1] In so subjecting himself, the soldier did not necessarily free himself from the rights and constraints of civil law. If he was accused of a crime against a civilian, the military authorities were required to hand him over to the civilian courts.

> Though the citizen becomes a soldier, he is nevertheless a citizen. He throws not off thereby his dependence on, or protection through the universal law, seeking and establishing the security and happiness of the entire body, of which the military institution itself,... is in reality nothing less than a component and constituent part. All that the law military purports and effects, is the imposition of new obligations on those, who fall within its jurisdiction, in their quality of soldiers, necessary to enforce the duties of their acquired relation, in addition to those, which were previously required of them in their general quality, as common citizens of a common state.[2]

Like the British constitution, there is no one act or decree which delineates military law. In fact, there are two classes of rulings which apply. The Mutiny Act and the *Rules and Articles for the Better Government of All His Majesty's Forces* (the Articles of War) have the power of absolute law.[3] The regulations and orders issued by the War Office, the Horse Guards and commanding officers were not absolute dicta of military law, but were supposedly amplifications of the clauses in the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War. All members of courts martial were bound by oath to judge on the basis of the act and articles, and could not question the legality of any clause of either. The other regulations and orders were admissable as evidence

in a court martial, but the court had the right to question the relevance or legality of any regulation or order. To violate the act or articles was a breach of military law; to violate regulations or orders was a breach of military duty.[4]

Nevertheless, the instances in which regulations and orders were not applied in a military court are rare. The members of all courts martial were officers, men who recognized that to question the legality of a regulation was to diminish the authority behind all regulations. If respect for orders was questioned, the authority of each officer's position was threatened. Such authority lay partially in the respect for the legality of their orders. No court martial, therefore, dismissed any order or regulation offhand, and they were usually *de facto* laws.

The Mutiny Act and the Articles of War were published each year, incorporating alterations in the total establishment of the army and in those acts which were defined as military crimes. Military law was not a static set of rules but a reflection of the changing attitudes to crime and punishment of the English public and, especially, of the English Parliament. In 1837 and 1839, for example, 70 separate military crimes were listed in the Articles of War, while by 1878 the list had increased to 75.

When an officer had before him a soldier who was to be tried, he first turned to the Articles of War to find the regulation which would define the nature of the offence. In 1837 (a typical year), the Articles of War described 70 military crimes, broken down into five categories.[5] The first category of five articles established the rules of conduct for the performance of divine worship and assigned various punishments for misbehaviour. Most were punished by a fine for the first offence, but the punishment for profanity or unwarranted absence from church service could be increased to imprisonment. The fifth article provided for the discharge of the chaplain on the grounds of gross misbehaviour.

The next category of 13 articles dealt with those crimes punishable by death, transportation and so forth. Obviously, mutiny (or failure to give notice of mutiny), a very rare but extremely serious crime, was included in this category. There were several abortive mutinies in Canada, the most serious at Fort George in 1803 when some of the guilty soldiers were executed and the others were transported to Barbados. The next most serious crime in this category was desertion - an offense so common that a separate chapter of this study is devoted to it. Striking an officer and disobedience, both crimes considered very serious, carried a possible death penalty, as did a number of crimes committed in the presence of an enemy, such as surrendering a post without offering resistence or abetting

the enemy in any manner. Finally, this category included being asleep on duty or quitting a post, both of which occasionally happened in British North America. The penalty for these acts varied in peace and war, and more leniency was shown in peace-time.

"Crimes not punishable with death or transportation," the third category of 19 articles, referred to specific instances, such as being drunk on duty, refusing to help an officer, or disobeying an order. This category also included those crimes disruptive of morale - spreading rumours and creating alarms. "Drunk on duty" was the only article of this variety which was repeatedly violated in British North America, and in 1837 the usual punishment for it, and for the other crimes in this category, was flogging. After military prisons were instituted in the 1840s, the courts martial had the option of awarding extended periods of imprisonment or of flogging a soldier guilty of committing one of these crimes.

Some military crimes, as specified in the fourth category, could be awarded two separate punishments. "Crimes punishable with Loss of Pay, or of Pay and Pension, in addition to other Punishments" included acts of self-mutilation to avoid duty or achieve discharge. Such malingerers were usually awarded both a flogging *and* a financial penalty. All convicted deserters belonged in the double-punishment category,[6] as did habitual drunkards; both these crimes were extremely common in these colonies. Some of the crimes in these 16 articles were those only officers could commit, such as deliberate bookkeeping errors. An officer found guilty of knowingly submitting a false return was cashiered and forfeited all future financial considerations.[7]

The final category, "Crimes not punishable with Forfeiture of Pay and Pension, except by General Courts-martial," also included some bookkeeping crimes, such as signing blank vouchers and returns. This section, which contained 17 articles, offered a little protection for the private against extended detention without trial and from ill-treatment by any superior. Lastly it included all "unspecified crimes," a euphemism for homosexual acts.

This list of crimes from the Articles of War is long, but few of the items in it were regularly committed in British North America. As the table in Appendix D shows, the most frequently committed crime was drunkenness, either on duty under arms or habitual. Alcohol was the solace of the soldier's life and the bane of his existence. It was the "main parent of all crime in the Army,"[8] and is therefore the subject of a separate chapter in this study, as is the second most frequent crime, desertion.

Before a soldier could be brought before a court martial on any of these clauses in the Articles of War, he had to be arrested. This could be accomplished by any

officer, but it was normally the duty of the officer of the day and the military police. When the officer of the day was doing his round of the barracks or inspecting the guard, he could call out any soldier who was drunk or improperly dressed. Furthermore, the guard was responsible for reporting to him anyone who returned after lights-out or who was caught trying to desert. Anyone apprehended in this manner was detained in a cell in the guardhouse until the next morning, when he was presented to the commanding officer. The officer of the day would also present the Defaulter's Book, outlining the soldier's name, date of arrest, arresting officer and witnesses, and offence.[9]

To aid in the apprehension of delinquent soldiers, military police forces were created at the major posts in the 1860s. Under the supervision of the town mayor, this force patrolled outside the confines of the encampment, watching the streets and taverns in particular. Anyone out after tattoo without a proper pass was reported to the town mayor the next morning, while all drunks were confined in the nearest guardroom.[10] The town mayor made his report to the commanding officer every morning.

The commanding officer had certain discretionary powers. He could order a soldier back to the guard cell to await trial by a court martial, or decide that the crime was minor and arbitrarily award punishment. Any commanding officer could detain a soldier in the cells, on his own authority, for one week. This imprisonment could be with or without hard labour - such as breaking stones - and might include solitary confinement.[11] After 1845, commanding officers could order that a man forfeit his pay in conjunction with any punishment he was awarded.[12] In the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, it was customary to deprive every soldier whose name was recorded in the Defaulter's Book of one penny good conduct pay and his badge for one year.[13] As an alternative to financial penalties, the commanding officer could confine a soldier to barracks for a period of time; in 1836 the limit was two months, but this had been dropped to one month by 1857.[14]

One extremely common mode of punishment for a commanding officer to order was defaulter's drill. For periods of two hours at a time,[15] soldiers were drilled on the parade ground by the sergeant-major, in heavy marching order - all their accoutrements and full knapsacks. As well as doing this extra drill, the defaulters also had to take their turns at guard duty and attend the regular routine of drills and parades. It took a long time for a private to accumulate enough hours of defaulter's drill to be released from this punishment and from the concomitant confinement to barracks and enforced absence from the canteen.[16] In at least one regiment, the 24th, a table of crimes and the appropriate commanding officer's

punishments were established in order to avoid charges of prejudice,[17] while in another regiment, the 79th, all men serving commanding officer's punishments wore a distinguishing black ring above the cuff on the right sleeve, and two black rings on the left sleeve if the crime had been "meanly unbecoming a Soldier."[18]

The punishments meted out by the commanding officer were an important factor in any garrison. Such punishments could be used to bolster morale by avoiding courts martial and the resultant public punishment, or they could be destructive of all morale if the commanding officer used them frequently for the slightest of misdemeanors.[19] This summary discipline dwindled during the 19th century as commanding officers lost most of their discretionary powers, and the result was an increase in courts martial.[20]

When the commanding officer felt that the soldier before him had committed an act deserving a more severe punishment, or when there was doubt as to his guilt, the officer arranged for the convening of a court martial. Military courts, like civilian ones, were graded by the seriousness of the crime to be tried and the severity of the sentence they could award. Hence the appeal system progressed from a regimental court martial to a general one.

Regimental courts martial consisted of a captain (as president) and two or four subalterns. They were convened "for the inquiring into such disputes or criminal matters as may come before them, and for the inflicting of corporal punishments for small offences."[21] At stations manned by detachments or by several regiments, a garrison court martial (rather than a regimental one) was convened. In this case the officers were drawn from different regiments.[22] Regimental courts could not try an officer or sentence any soldier to execution. In 1812, the Duke of York limited regimental courts to a maximum sentence of 300 lashes, a limit which still existed when regimental courts were renamed district or garrison courts martial in 1829.[23] The sentence given by one of these courts, based on the majority vote of the court, was inflicted when confirmed by the commanding officer, who had the option of pardoning the defendant.[24]

The sentence of a general court martial had, however, to be approved by the king, who had the power to pardon or remit the punishment.[25] The king also appointed the "Judge Advocate" (or, in Canada, the "Deputy Judge Advocate"), the crown prosecutor. The incumbent of this peculiar office not only prepared the case for the prosecution, but also acted as legal advisor to both the bench and defendant - a most ambiguous position![26]

The bench of a general court martial in theory consisted of 13 officers, but the number could be reduced to seven in North America, where there was sometimes a shortage of senior officers free for court duty.[27] The president

of a general court had to be a field officer, but could not be the commander-in-chief or the commanding officer of the garrison where the court was convened.[28] Furthermore, a two-thirds majority of the bench was essential in order to award a sentence of death.[29]

Courts martial were solemn occasions. The officers on the bench took oaths, the defendant declared himself guilty or not guilty, and witnesses were interrogated individually by the prosecution and defence. The formality and rituals of justice did not, however, invariably protect the private soldier. He might well be illiterate; he was denied the full assistance of counsel, although often unfamiliar with the procedure, and no doubt overwhelmed by the terrifying display of gold lace facing him in judgment. On occasion, justice must have miscarried.

The least formal military court was convened only in emergencies. On shipboard or on the line of march, the commanding officer could order his junior officers to assemble around a drum, used as a table, to try men accused of serious infringements of the Mutiny Act while the army was in motion. Understandably these emergency courts, whose powers equalled those of regimental courts, were called drum-heads.[30]

Occasionally, when a man returned to barracks after being punished by sentence of a court martial, he found himself brought before yet another court. If he had "brought unwarrantable censure" on his fellow soldiers,[31] or had stolen from his comrades, he was arraigned before a company court martial. His peers sentenced the culprit to confinement to barracks or to sling belting (that is, being struck on the posterior with the sling of a firelock while being held down to a bench). While a soldier was confined to barracks, he was forced to wear a badge describing his crime. After he was released from the punishment of a company court martial, he usually became a pariah.[33]

Detention

While a soldier waited to be tried by a court martial, or while he served a commanding officer's punishment, he was incarcerated in the guard cells, which usually formed a section of the guardhouse (Figs. 19-23). The guardhouse filled three functions. First, it provided quarters for the guard in the guardroom. Here the relief for the men posted at the gates and other lookout points slept, fully dressed, on the guard bed (marked out in Figs. 20-22). The guard bed was a wooden platform, about 5 feet long, with a width determined by the size of the guard. There was normally

Figure 19. Plans, sections and elevations of two different styles of guardhouse at Fort Mississauga, 1825. Only the one shown at the top had detention cells. (Public Archives Canada.)

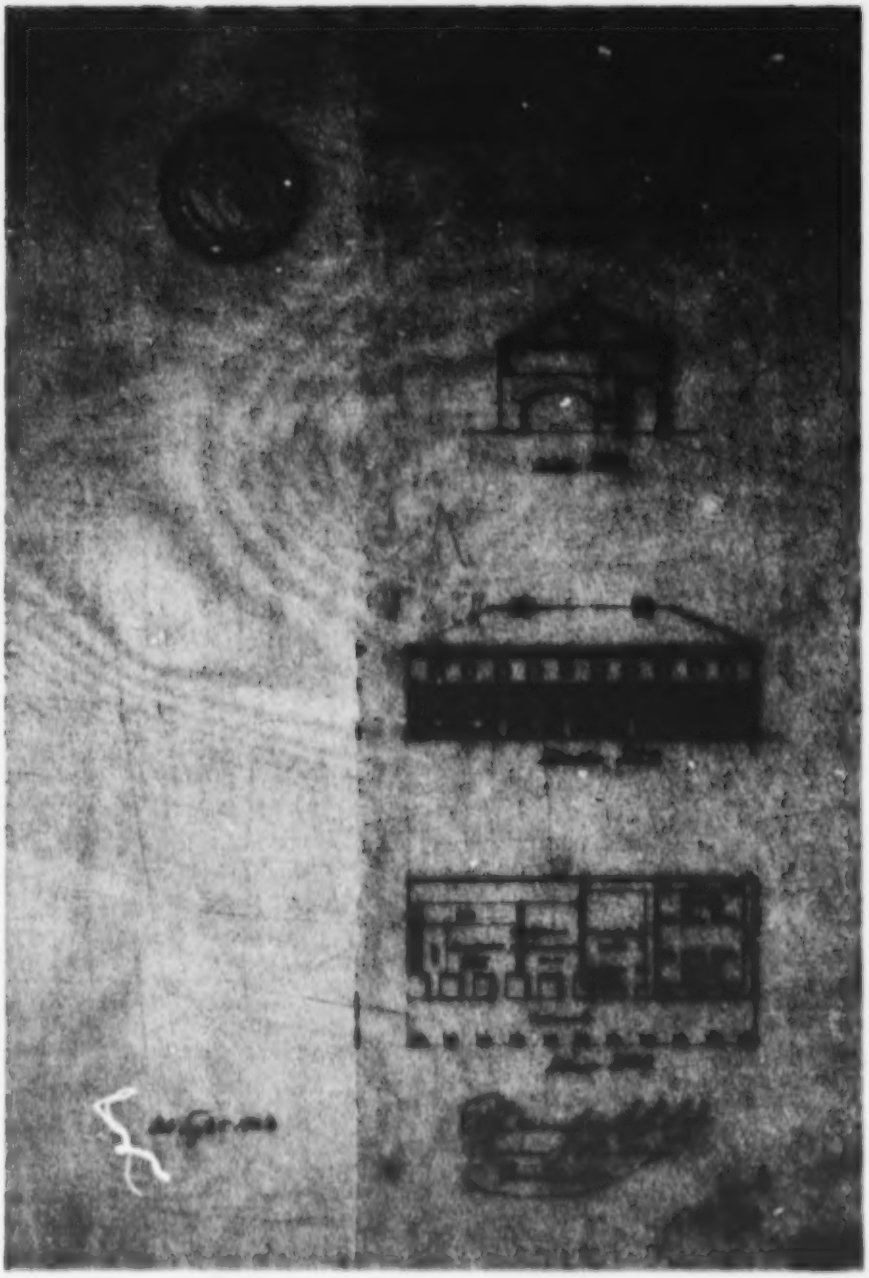

Figure 20. "Plan, Section and Elevation of Guard House, &c. Fort Lennox," 1823. (Public Archives Canada.)

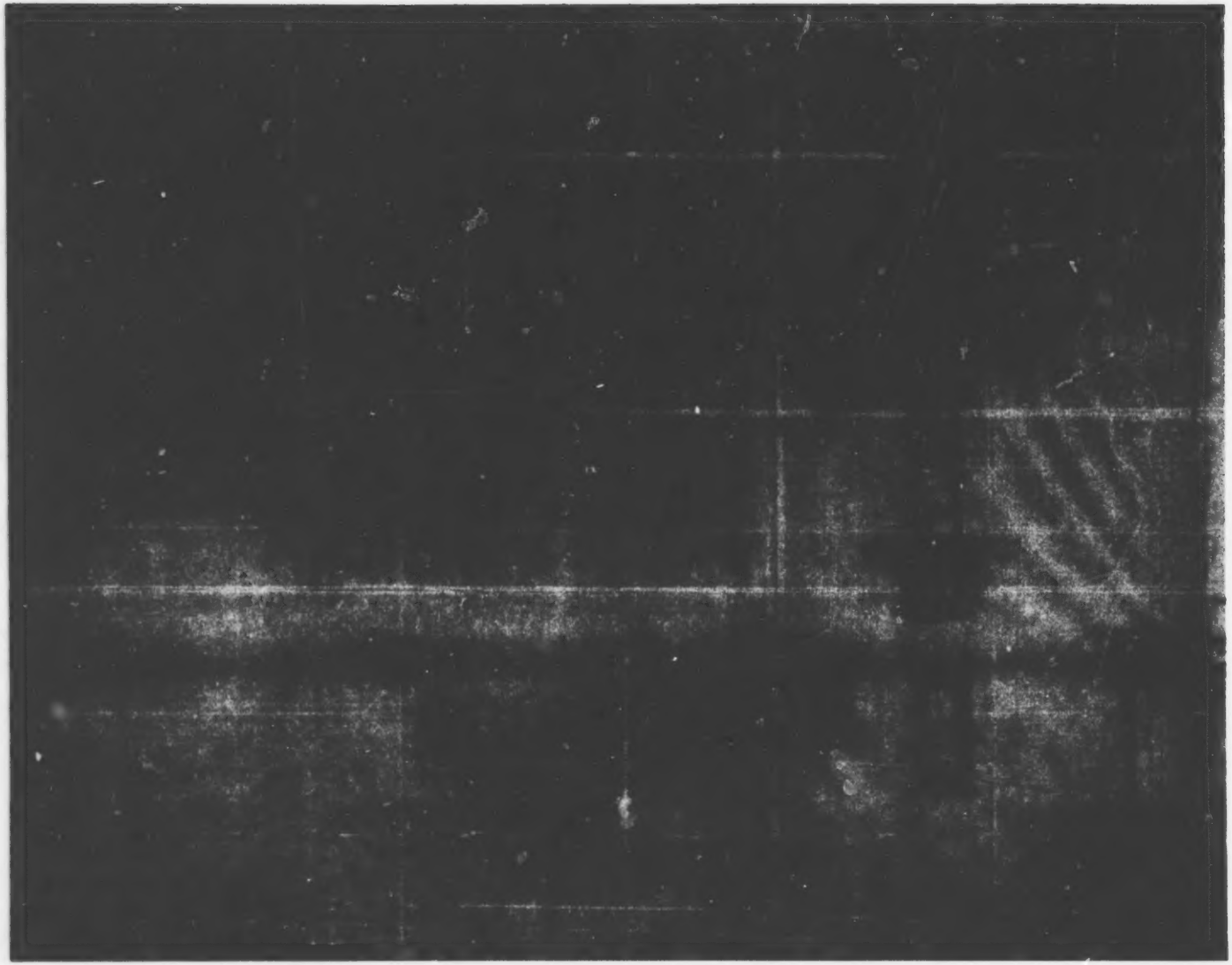

Figure 21. "Isle aux Noix. Sketch shewing the Proposed New Services at the Cells." (Public Archives Canada.)

only one bed per guardhouse, so that all the reliefs slept together. No bedding was provided, since everyone was expected to sleep lightly in anticipation of an alarm. Each guardroom was also to be supplied with one water-bucket, one axe, one lantern and one candlestick.[34] Occasionally guardhouses for the guard alone were built.

Second, the guardhouse provided a room for the officer of the day, a position rotated every 24 hours. The orderly officer maintained the Defaulter's Book[36] and the regimental or garrison order book. Occasionally his office was separated from his sleeping quarters (Fig. 20). It was this officer's responsibility to visit the barracks[37] and inspect the guard frequently.[38] The room provided for him was equipped with a bed, although one officer of the Grenadier Guards complained that the rain on the guardhouse's tin roof kept him from sleeping.[39]

Finally, the typical guardhouse was provided with a detention area of some sort. This usually included solitary cells or black holes (solitary cells without windows or other sources of light) or both.[40] It might also include a defaulter's lock-up room, a large chamber used for the detention of several minor offenders (Fig. 23). The detention area was usually a completely separate section of the building, with access from the outside only. This isolation can be seen in Figures 19-21 and 23. The area was used for various forms of imprisonment and for the temporary incarceration of men sentenced to execution, transportation, branding, drumming-out and flogging.

There does not seem to have been any set of regulations for the interior arrangement of these cells until 1844. Certainly there were no standards for size; the cells in Figure 22 are 6.6 by 5.9 feet while those in the Tête de Pont Barracks, Kingston, were 10 by 8 feet.[41] Although the cells were provided with some sort of heating - a fireplace or stove[42] - they were frequently cold,[43] and until 1826 the prisoners were not permitted any bedding at any time of the year. After December 1826 they were to be provided with bedding during the winter months.[44] Within each black hole, the prisoner seems to have been at liberty, although that martinet, the Duke of Kent, did order all the prisoners in the Halifax command to be put in irons, hand and foot.[45] He soon rescinded this order, however, except in the cases of deserters and others confined for capital crimes or those who were riotous in their cells.[46]

One officer, Colonel Charles Gore, was distressed by the cells for solitary confinement. He wrote that they were

> hurtful to the health of the Soldier, and there is not space sufficient for exercise and they are occasionally damp, - the Cells are also too dark, for the Prisoners to read such books, as

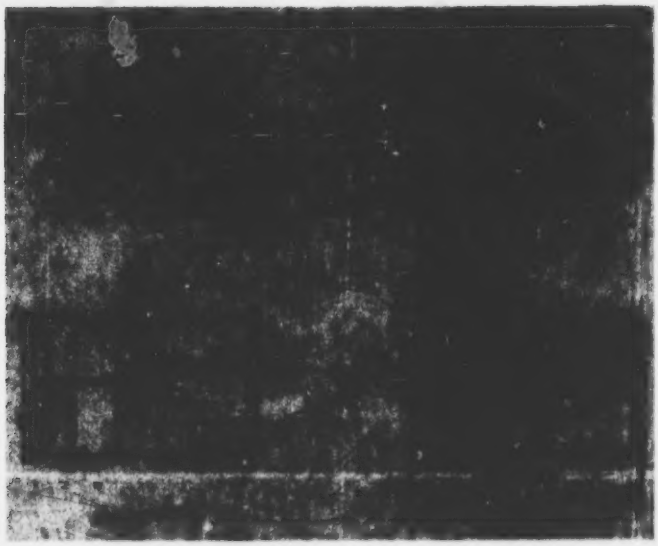

Figure 22. "Plan of a Building...to be erected at Penetenguishene, to contain a Guard Room, Solitary Cells and Orderly Room, also a School Room & Staff Serjeants Quarters," 1829. (Public Archives Canada.)

> might help to bring them back to a better moral feeling.[47]

The only item missing from this indictment was the food!

In 1844 the Duke of Wellington established rules and regulations for the occupation of cells of approved construction, situated in a garrison or barracks. These cells were to be used for a maximum of 28 days, and all prisoners sentenced for longer periods were to be sent to military prisons, which were established in the 1840s. Each set of cells was put under the immediate superintendence of a provost sergeant, whose duty it was to keep the records, maintain orderly silence, keep the cells and prisoners clean, and feed the prisoners their rations of bread, potatoes and milk. Furthermore, the provost sergeant was responsible for policing inside the fortification. The new rules included an abstract posted in each cell, informing the prisoner what quantities of this bland, starchy diet he was to receive for breakfast and dinner. The prisoner was also notified that he could have no liquor or tobacco and only those books approved by the chaplain.[48]

The new regulations resulted in some alterations to guardhouses in the Canadas. A comparison of Figures 20 and 21 shows that the orderly room was to be turned over to the provost sergeant at Isle aux Noix and an exercise ground was

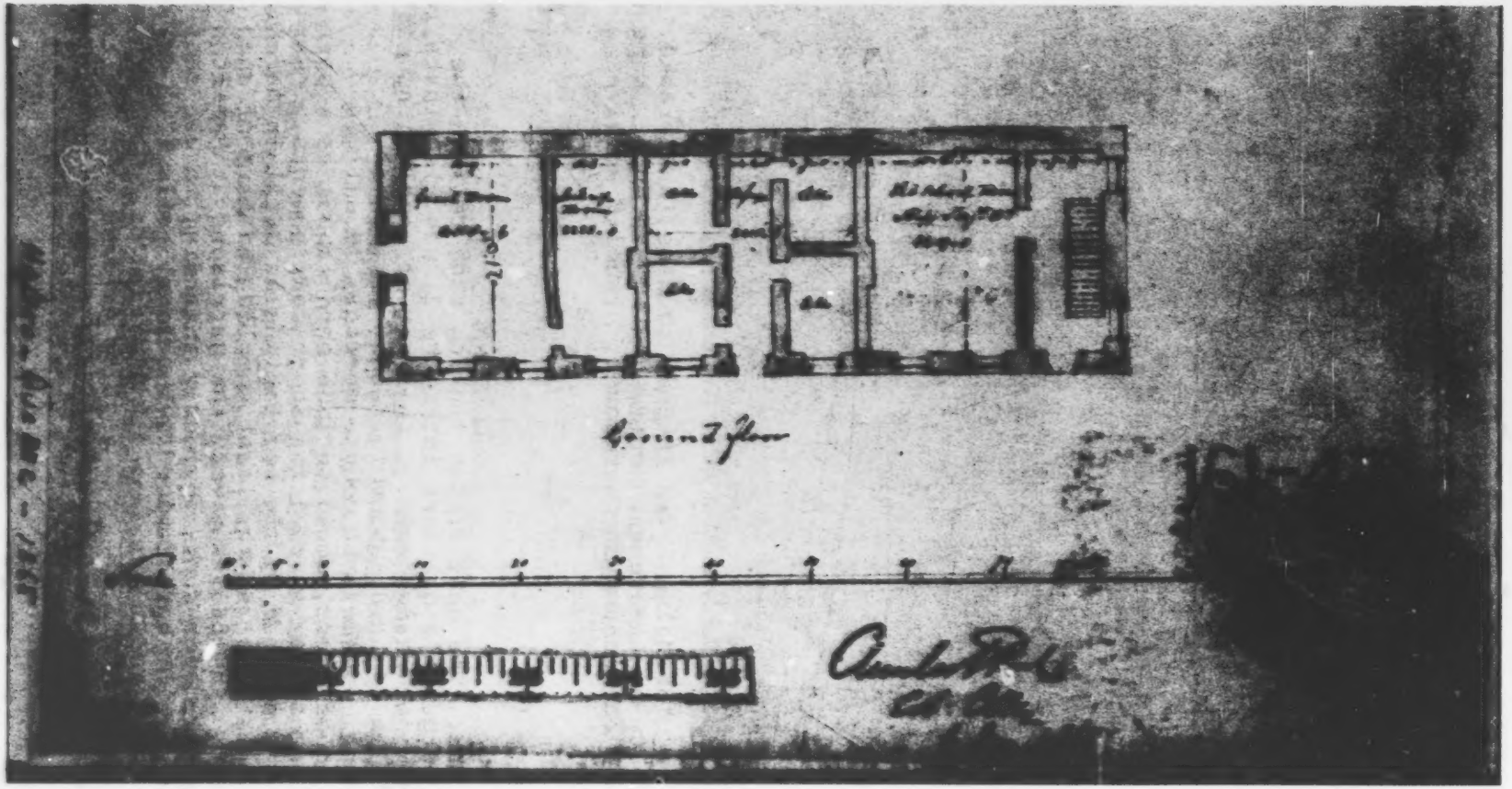

Figure 23. Plan of guard rooms, cells, etc., at the Royal Artillery Barracks, Quebec, 1865. (Public Archives Canada.)

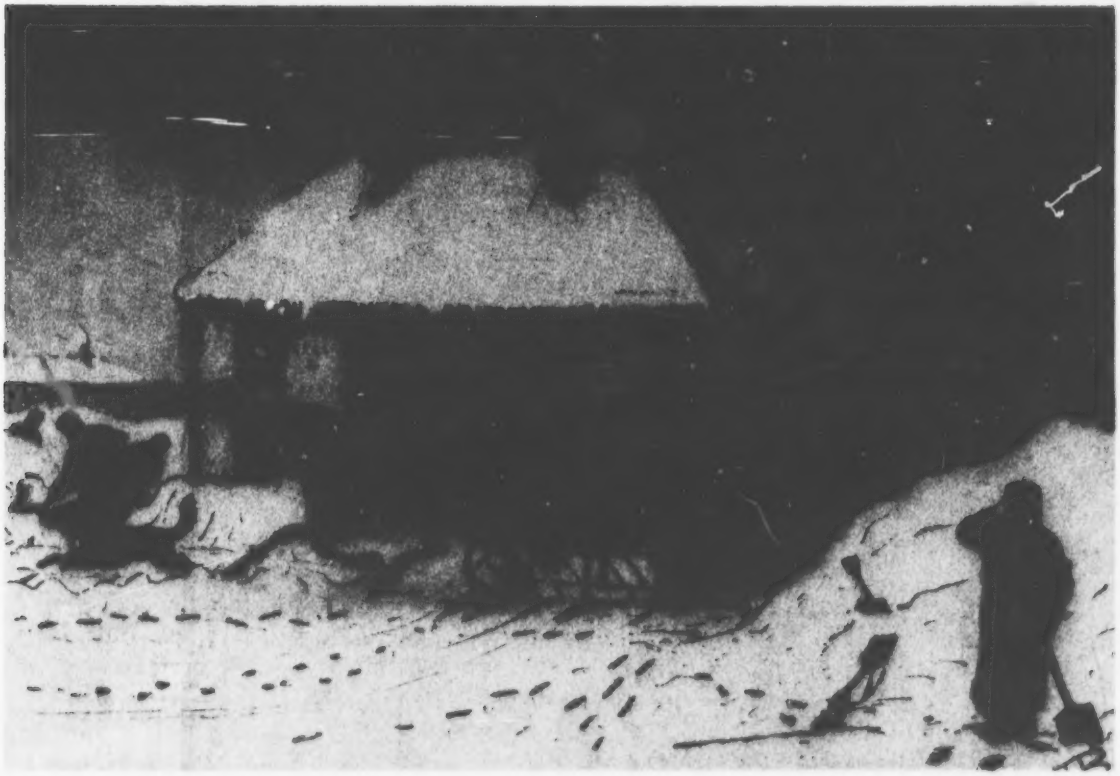

Figure 24. "Bringing a few friends to dine in Barracks," ca. 1860-70, by Lieutenant Henry Buckton Laurence. Note the guardhouse and sentry in background. (Public Archives Canada.)

to be added. The bell system linking each cell to the provost sergeant's quarters in Figure 21 was also installed.

The major change made in this set of regulations was the addition of hard labour for short periods of confinement. Henceforth courts martial, as well as commanding officers, could include hard labour as a part of the sentences they awarded for short confinements. "Hard labour" was defined by the regulations as drill in marching order, since this was the least complicated form of such punishment. In 1863, however, the garrisons at Hamilton and London applied for shot, obviously intending to use shot drill as part of hard labour in the local cells.[49]

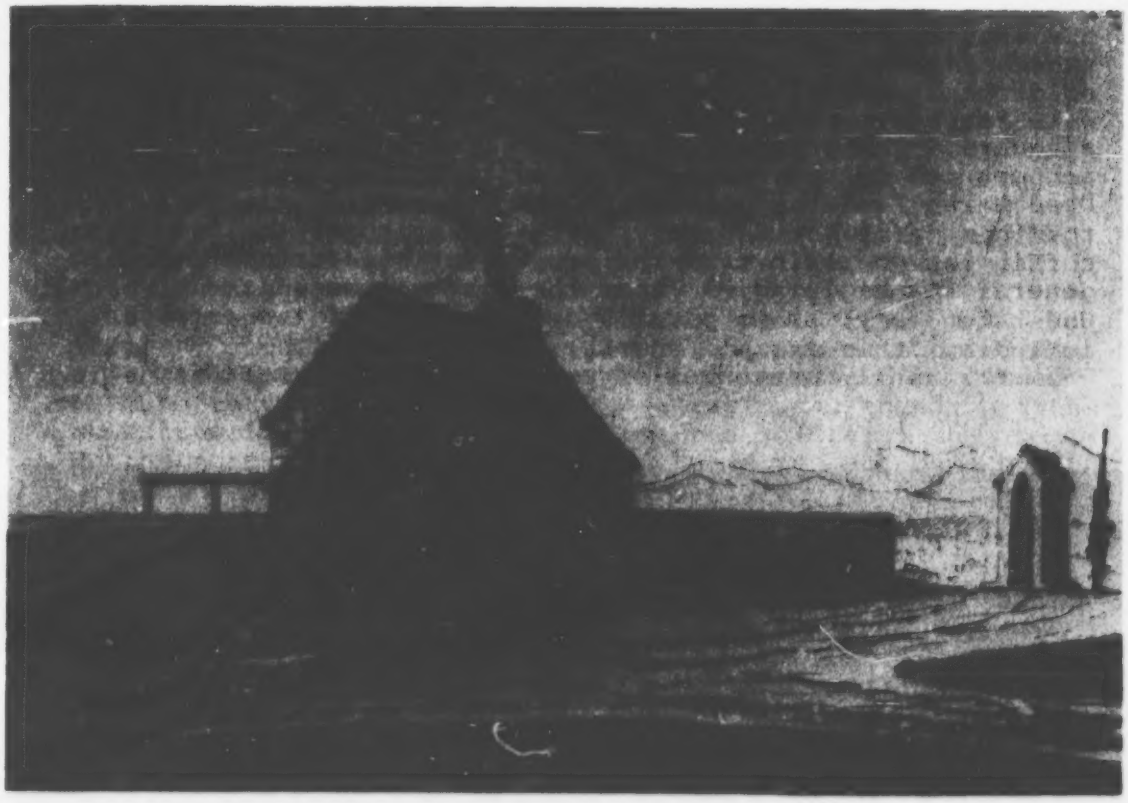

Figure 25. "View of Cape Diamond Guard House June 12, 1806," by Sempronius Stretton. (Public Archives Canada.)

Punishments

The ultimate punishment was execution, a penalty rarely used in the British army. The Articles of War were so written that a general court martial had the option of the death sentence "or such other punishment as a general court martial may award."[50] Generally a sentence of execution was not awarded unless a private repeatedly committed a capital offence[51] or deserted to the enemy in time of war.

Before 1800, a soldier sentenced to execution was to be hanged by the neck until dead "and his body to be afterward Hung in Chains to Detere [*sic*] others from so great a crime."[52] One British soldier who was captured serving in the French army in 1759 was hanged and then buried

beneath the gibbet with his French uniform.[53] During the 19th century, however, all men sentenced to death were shot. Figure 26 shows the execution for desertion of five soldiers at LaPrairie on 2 November 1813.[54] The troops were marched to the parade ground and formed three sides of a square. The prisoner, his hands tied behind him and accompanied by the chaplain, faced them; the band played the Dead March, and the guard followed the coffin into the fourth side of the square. While the prisoner knelt on his coffin the chaplain read the prayer for malefactors and general thanksgiving.[55] Then the firing squad fired. Understandably, as Corporal Ryder reported of two executions in India, "this example had the desired effect."[56]

Frequently sentences of execution were commuted to

Figure 26. "Scenes at la Prairie, 1812-13." This execution is described in general orders, Montreal, 30 October 1813. (PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1203½.) (Public Archives Canada.)

transportation for a period of years (usually 7 or 14) or for life. Transportation began as a means of punishing soldiers and filling the ranks of units serving in hardship commands, but ended as a method of discipline and colonization. Until 1818 soldiers were transported for general service, which meant that they continued to be soldiers but were forced to serve until their deaths in certain units garrisoning unhealthy locations. In this way regiments serving in East Africa, the West Indies, and the Windward and Leeward islands received trained soldiers. This advantage was, however, totally overcome by the disadvantages of the practice. Units such as the Royal African Colonial Corps were replenished with criminals, men alienated from the army by the very sentences which forced them to serve with the unit. These regiments ended up with an extremely high proportion of coerced soldiers. Furthermore, the health of many of these men had been broken by extended periods of confinement while they awaited court martial and then transportation to their destination.[57] As early as 1766, Carleton learned that Gage contemplated transporting deserters from the Canadas to Senegal and the West Indies.[58]

In 1801 the Duke of York, recognizing this problem, appealed for a political decision.

> In short after a very serious Expence being incurred in their Transportation they are more calculated to spread contagion in more ways than one in any Corps they may join than to add to its effective strength. HRH is equally aware of the bad consequences of setting these men at liberty and is therefore desirous that the Secretary of War would be so good as to take an opportunity of submitting the Circumstances above stated to the consideration of HM's Ministers in order that they may decide on the most eligible mode of disposing of persons of the above description.[59]

But the cabinet only dealt with the physical health of the men transported. If a private could not be certified healthy enough for service anywhere, he was to be transported to selected stations, including "the back Settlements of Canada."[60] In 1802, 26 deserters and other culprits were transported from England for service in Canada.[61]

Before transportation for general service was finally abolished by the Horse Guards on 18 November 1818,[62] courts martial in the Canadas had begun transportation to New South Wales and to the hulks off Bermuda. These two places became the destination for hundreds of men reprieved from death. Those sent to Bermuda were imprisoned by night on old ships, rotting in the harbour, and worked by day in convict gangs ashore. Supposedly these were the men "whose

cases are not of an aggravated nature."[63] Transportation for service in the Royal African Colonial Corps did not end until 25 January 1826, but by that date most criminals in British North America were being transported to Bermuda or New South Wales.[64]

The "incorrigible"[65] soldiers were sent to New South Wales. There they joined civilian convicts in the chain gangs building roads, encampments and public works.[66] The resultant criminal community had little opportunity to reform and retarded the development of responsible government for the colony. For these reasons, political and social pressures to change or abolish transportation were brought to bear in the 1830s, and the penalty was suspended in 1840.[67] The result was an overcrowding of English prisons which forced the reintroduction (with some alterations) of transportation in 1847. "Ticket of leave" transportation was a method "for obviating the evils of which transportation has hitherto been productive without abandoning the advantages with which that mode of punishment is attended."[68] Convicts passed through the hulks at Bermuda, which became a reforming penitentiary, before being transported "to be useful members of society in Australia." There they were given conditional pardons, or tickets of leave, restoring all their personal rights as British subjects except the right to leave the colony. If they misbehaved, the ticket-of-leave men became prisoners again.[69]

The squatters and graziers were pleased when transportation was reintroduced, since the ticket-of-leave men formed a pool of cheap labour. But the same reason led the merchants, townspeople and workers to oppose transportation, and the latter group had more political power. In August 1849 the legislative council of Australia passed a resolution denouncing all types of transportation.[70] Nevertheless, it was not the deliberations of this body but the discovery of gold which finally swayed the British Parliament. Frightened by the prospect of a large criminal population in a gold-rush territory, Parliament put further restrictions on transportation. Henceforth transportation was limited to sentences of 14 years or more; lesser sentences were to be converted to confinement in a penitentiary.[71] In addition, after 1855 transportation was limited to the western coast of Australia, where it persisted for another 13 years.[72]

Before some men were transported, they were brought before their peers and tattooed for life with the letter "D" for deserter or "BC" for bad character.[73] Until the 1840s, this was done by the drum major, who traced the letter on the skin and then punctured the skin (drawing blood) all over the tracing with saddlers' needles. The drum major then rubbed gunpowder into the wound, so that the

charcoal would remain as an indelible brand.[74] Ink was sometimes used instead of gunpowder. The army termed this punishment branding, although it is clearly a form of tattooing. It was done on the left side, two inches below the armpit, with a letter at least one-half inch long.[75]

The brass tattooing instrument shown in Figure 27 was introduced in May 1842, but was found "ineffectual and easily erased," and in 1847 the Horse Guards ordered that needles be again employed. In the same memorandum of 25 June 1847 the Horse Guards ordered the army medical officers to superintend branding.[76] Since this directive did not

Figure 27. A brass tattooing instrument for marking deserters. This instrument belonged to Garnet Wolseley. (Glenbow Insitute.)

end "the diversity of practice and inefficiency of the existing methods," the adjutant-general issued new orders in 1851. As a result, all subsequent brandings occurred in the military prisons, unless there was no prison convenient. Moreover, the medical officer of the prison was ordered to perform the branding,[77] an order which brought howls of protest. Surgeon Munro described the reaction of the army physicians in Halifax:

> We were all very indignant at this, for we did not consider it any part of a medical officer's duty to inflict punishment on the soldier. I do not know with whom the proposal originated that medical officers should be subjected to such degredation; but the consequence of the order was a universal protest by medical officers, which was followed by the repeal of the insulting and degrading order.[78]

The surgeons were not alone in the protest. *The Lancet*, the journal of the English medical profession, "compared branding to such feudal punishment as earcropping, nose-slitting, and the pillory," while John Bright, the radical parliamentarian, claimed that it hindered recruitment efforts. Nonetheless, the branding of soldiers for misbehaviour did not end until 1871.[79]

Since army officials hesitated to discharge any man for incorrigible bad conduct (on the grounds that others would misbehave in order to be discharged), the drumming-out ceremony was a rare event. Wiley claimed that it was only used "in cases of an abnormal and disgraceful character." Usually the soldier was sentenced to be flogged and was then discharged with ignominy. After his back had healed, the prisoner was brought before his regiment; the adjutant read the sentence, and he was stripped of badges, buttons, shoulder straps and facings by the drum major or the provost sergeant. Sometimes the youngest drummer led the prisoner to the gate with a halter round his neck,[80] while on other occasions the youngest drummer simply gave the prisoner a kick in the pants to propel him through the gate. Throughout this ceremony the band played the "Rogue's March."[81]

The mildest form of imprisonment was detention in the defaulter's room, a more onerous form of confinement to barracks. The soldier so confined performed his regular duties, a specified number of extra drills, and then returned to this room to be locked up for the night.

The more serious forms of imprisonment involved periods of solitary confinement. In 1838 the Horse Guards decided that soldiers could be committed to solitary confinement for a maximum of 28 days at a time. If the court martial wished the guilty private to spend more than one month in solitary he had to be given a period of imprisonment with hard labour after each 28-day spell in solitary.[82] Since the local

cells could not be used for imprisonment longer than four weeks, any prisoner sentenced to extended periods of solitary confinement was incarcerated in the military prisons. Prisoners in solitary were allowed no communication with other human beings, but were permitted one hour's exercise each morning under the supervision of a non-commissioned officer.[83]

Major-General Sir Thomas Pearson testified before the Royal Commission on Military Punishment that solitary confinement "sours a man's disposition."[84] The members of the commission apparently agreed, for they recommended

> Solitary confinement, or confinement to the black hole, which in no case can exceed 48 hours, unless awarded by sentence of court martial, should as much as possible be reserved for cases of drunkenness, riot, violence, or insolence to superiors, and in aggravated cases, should precede the further punishment of confinement to barracks, extra drill, and duties of fatigue or drudgery.[85]

The Cat

Solitary confinement was increasingly awarded as an alternative to flogging,[86] a brutal punishment administered with more ceremony than the distribution of medals. Usually the sergeant-major informed the ranks that a punishment parade was ordered for early in the morning. The prisoner's friends might then try to smuggle him liquor (as an anesthetic and tranquilizer) past the guard - a breach of discipline which took much ingenuity. One surprised prisoner was offered liquor from the barrel of a guard's musket.[87] In the morning, all the ranks were assembled in a square facing inwards to the triangle. Originally, this consisted of three sergeants' halberds ("stout ash staffs about ten feet in length, shod with iron, surmounted by a broad steel spear blade").[88] These were lashed together at the top, and a fourth halberd was tied on horizontally. At permanent garrisons like Montreal, a proper wooden triangle was erected (Figs. 28 and 29). The prisoner was then marched into the square by his guards. The drummers, boys who were not yet tall enough to be enlisted into the ranks, took their places alongside the triangle and the colonel ordered the adjutant to proceed. Before ordering the prisoner to strip to the waist (Fig. 29), this officer read the court martial proceedings and finally the sentence. This completed, the drummers tied the prisoner, spread-eagle, to the triangle and put a red cloth cap on his head and a buff collar round his neck, to protect those

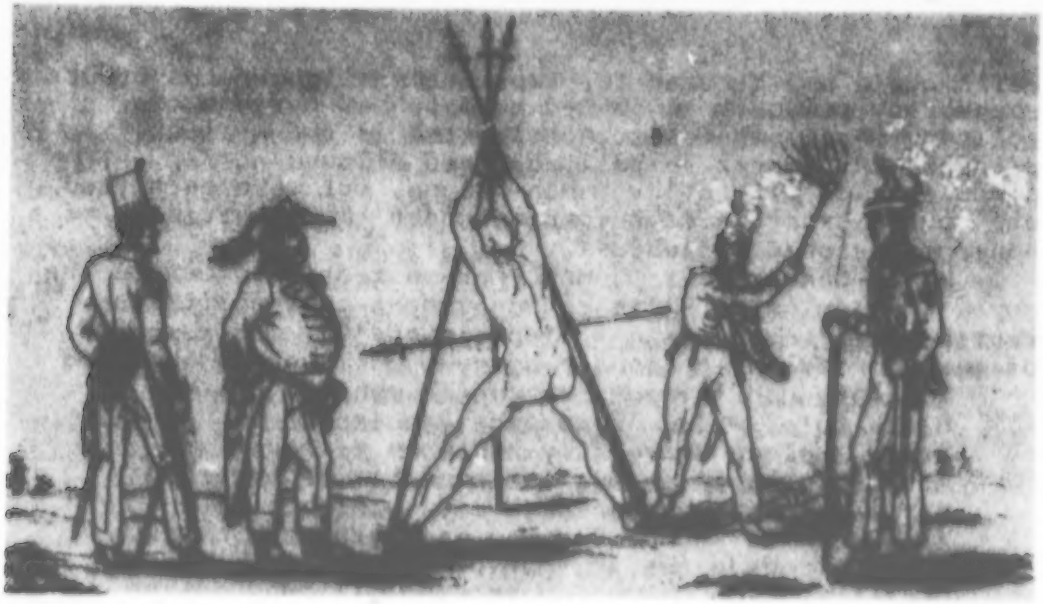

Figure 28. Flogging at the triangle, 1822. The prisoner usually stripped only to the waist, as did the drummer. (National Army Museum, London.)

Figure 29. Another example of a flogging, ca. 1855-60. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Providence, R.I.)

sensitive parts from the cat-o'-nine tails.[89]

There was no regulation cat-o'-nine-tails, or lash, but it usually consisted of nine cords or lashes fixed to a handle (Fig. 30). Frequently each cord was knotted in three places, so that 27 weights were propelled against the bare skin.[90] James Fitzgibbon accused Roger Hale Sheaffe of steeping the cat used at Fort George in 1803 in brine.[91] If this were true, the lash must have caused incredible pain. Many of Fitzgibbon's complaints against Sheaffe are, however, not supported by other sources, and Captain Thomas Frederick Simmons, writing in 1863, claimed that steeping the cat in brine was "unprecedented."[92]

The adjutant then ordered the drum major to proceed; he in turn ordered, "Drummer, do your duty."[93] While the

Figure 30. A cat-o'-nine-tails. This cat is similar to the one belonging to the Coldstream Guards: weight (complete), 3½lb.; weight of stock and loop, 1-7/8 lb.; length of stock 19½ in; length of loop 3-7/8 in; length of plaited lashes, 3½ in.; length of free lashes, 21 in. (*See* "Replies," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. 41 [1962], pp. 54-55.) (Drawing by D. Keppler.)

drum major counted to three between each stroke, the drummers in turn inflicted 25 of their best. If the drummer failed to use all his strength at the task, he felt the drum major's cane across his own shoulders.[94] One officer at Annapolis Royal even asked for "a Stout Able Drummer" because "the two I have are Boys - only one can punish and that but slightly."[95] The drummers were paid 1 3/4d. *per diem* for performing this horrible task,[96] while the unfortunate prisoner was actually fined 2d. for every hundred lashes ordered. This fine was paid to the drum major.[97]

At least one drummer was horrified by the task. The drummers stripped to the waist so that they could apply the lash "with force and vigour" and were usually covered in dried blood by the end of the flogging. Once a man had received 100 lashes, he bled freely, usually from the right shoulder. Since most drummers were right-handed, they stood to the prisoner's left and the ends of the lash struck his right side.[98]

The transcript of the trial of the drummers of the 52nd Regiment for the murder of Donald McKenzie, who died after a flogging in Quebec in 1766, revealed that it took between one-half and three-quarters of an hour to inflict 175 lashes. On this occasion, the court was eager to know if it was normal procedure to clean the blood from the cat frequently, and whether it lessened the pain. Most witnesses replied to both questions in the affirmative.[99]

Since sentences of several hundred to a thousand lashes were common, and since fifty lashes "might reduce a man's back to jelly,"[100] water was kept at hand for the prisoner to drink or to revive him if he fainted.[101] Furthermore, the regimental surgeon examined him before the punishment and signed a certificate that "he is in a good state of health fit to endure corporal punishment or imprisonment."[102] The surgeon stood by during the flogging and could order the prisoner taken down from the triangle at any time during the punishment. Alexander described one instance when the surgeon intervened.

> The poor fellow's back was black as mahogany, and dreadfully swelled. The cats being too thick, they did not cut, which made the punishment more severe. He was instantly taken down and carried to hospital, where he died in eight days afterwards, his back having mortified. It was the cold I think that killed him; for I have often seen seven hundred lashes inflicted, but I never saw a man's back so horrible to look upon.[103]

If the surgeon halted the flogging because he felt the prisoner's life was in danger, the man was put in hospital until his back had healed and was then returned to the

halberds for the completion of his sentence. The regulations of 1837 finally forbade a second flogging to complete a sentence.[104]

When the flogging was finally over, the prisoner was untied, his shirt was thrown loosely over his shoulders, and a corporal and file of men from his own company marched him off to hospital.[105] There his lacerated back was dressed with cloths soaked in a dilute solution of sugar of lead (plumbi acetas). These cloths were kept in place by a cloth called a saddle or wrestling jacket.[106] This treatment, which usually lasted three weeks to a month, "almost equalled that of the punishment" in pain.[107]

Once his back had healed, the soldier was released from hospital and returned to his barracks, where he slipped back into the routine. Apparently the soldiers never alluded to a punishment parade, as if it had never happened. Their reticence on the prisoner's return was equalled by his silence on the triangle; the soldiers' code demanded that he take his punishment without crying out in pain.[108] For some men, the number of lashes they had received even became a matter of pride.[109] One private testified before the Royal Commission on Military Punishments that flogging did not disgrace a man - although his crime could. If a soldier had stolen from one of his comrades, he became an outcast,[110] and might be brought before one of the company courts martial described above.

One 18th-century variation on flogging was running the gauntlet or gantelope. A company of soldiers, each holding a piece of rawhide, was drawn up in two lines facing each other. Down this column marched the regimental band, playing a slow march, and an officer, followed by the prisoner, who was stripped to the waist. As he passed, each man struck the prisoner hard or was himself struck by an officer marching outside the column. Not suprisingly, the prisoner often collapsed under this punishment.[111]

The men might try to dismiss punishment parades by not discussing them, but there is no doubt that corporal punishment had a profound effect on them. As Sergeant Lamb wrote, "the spectacle made a lasting impression on my mind. I well remember, during the infliction of his punishment, I cried like a child."[112] So severe and so frightening was flogging that Alexander Alexander admitted, "I have actually trembled at the threat of a lance-bombadier; and not myself only, but the stoutest and oldest soldier did the same; for so severe was the discipline, that if he had only malice enough to make the charge, a flogging was certain to follow."[113] Some soldiers in Halifax actually committed suicide rather than be flogged,[114] and yet the men composed a ditty about flogging to the tune of the "Rogue's March."

Fifty I got for selling my coat,
Fifty for selling by blanket.

> If ever I'list for a soldier again,
> The devil shall be my sergeant.[115]

Flogging was not only a disgusting spectacle, but its efficiency as a deterrent could be questioned. As John Shipp wrote, "Flogging, I repeat, will never force men to obedience, but will assuredly drive them to commit crime."[116] Shipp also claimed that "flogging is, and always will be, the best, the quickest, and most certain method that can be devised, to eradicate from the bosom of a British soldier his most loyal and laudable feelings."[117] The members of the Royal Commission on Military Punishment found, however, that corporal punishment did have some effect as a deterrent.

> With regard to the inefficiency of corporal punishment for its object, there can indeed be no doubt that if the entire prevention of all crime and offence has been the object expected from it, it may be predicated of this, as of every sort of punishment hitherto thought of, that it has not attained that object. But if the object is taken to be the repression of crime, by the means of example, it appears from the evidence that, in many cases, where every other punishment has failed, it has had that effect and even by those who speak of its infliction inspiring disgust in the bystanders who witness it, it is admitted to have great effect in deterring other soldiers, and especially the younger ones, from committing offences which will subject them to it.[118]

Whatever the deterrent effects of flogging, the commission recommended that the use of the cat be restricted. This may have been partly a reaction to growing public opinion against the practice.

Flogging had been introduced into the British army by William III[119] and had come to be used more frequently and more harshly during the 18th century. As Correlli Barnett wrote,

> Later opinion has been shocked by the fearsome severity of these flayings. However, in the context of an age of brutality, where in civilian life children were hanged or transported for petty theft, military flogging was not so specially cruel as it may appear in retrospect.[120]

Furthermore, many individuals, including privates in the army, argued that flogging was absolutely essential. Quartermaster Sergeant James Anton reminded his readers that

> Philanthropists, who decry the lash ought to consider in what manner the good men - the deserving, exemplary soldiers - are to be

> protected; if no coercive measures are to be resorted to in purpose to prevent ruthless ruffians from insulting with impunity the temperate, the well-inclined, and the orderly-disposed, the good must be left to the mercy of the worthless.[121]

Anton's argument was based on the nature of the men recruited to fill the ranks. They may not all have been "the scum of the earth," as Wellington said, but most of them did come from a class which expected harsh treatment from those in authority.

As the 19th century began some men, led by George III and his son, the Duke of York, began to reconsider the harshness with which the lash was used. The first man known to protest was a regimental surgeon, Hamilton, who wrote in 1794 that "the contention that flogging does not impair the strength or efficiency of a regiment will not stand."[122] Six years later, Colonel Sir Robert Wilson complained to Pitt that the frequent use of the lash was deterring men from enlisting. His open letter to Pitt was followed immediately by a pamphlet by Brigadier-General the Hon. Charles Stewart, who argued for several army reforms, including changes in the system of punishment.[123]

In 1807 George III reviewed the case of a soldier found guilty of mutinous conduct and sentenced to 1,500 lashes. The king wrote:

> It appearing to His Majesty that a punishment to the extent of 1,000 lashes is a sufficient example for any breach of military discipline, short of capital offence; and as even that number cannot be safely inflicted at any one period, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to express his opinion, that no sentence for corporal punishment should exceed 1,000 lashes.[124]

Five years later the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, sent a confidential circular to commanding officers, advising them to pay more attention to the prevention of crime and limiting the sentence of a regimental court martial to 300 lashes.[125] The Duke of York did not restrict the number of lashes awarded by a general court martial. His opinion differed radically from that of his brother, the Duke of Kent, who firmly believed in the practice and ordered barbaric floggings.[126] Allegedly Kent went so far as to use his new semaphore telegraph system in Nova Scotia to convey an order for a flogging.[127]

William Cobbett, the ex-sergeant-major, made flogging a political issue when he protested the whipping of five militiamen at Ely in his *Political Register* of 1 July 1809.[128] Although Cobbett was found guilty of seditious libel for his remarks, the outcry against flogging continued, and in 1812 the subject was brought up in

Parliament. Brougham attacked flogging because it "had its principle in torture,"[129] but Wilberforce, the man who had led the fight to end the slave trade, was afraid to abolish the practice because "when he considered what a huge and multifarious body an army was, he should be afraid of adopting suddenly so material a change in what was deemed to be so essential to its discipline, on which depended entirely the management and government of it."[130]

As noted above, in 1812 the Duke of York limited the sentence to a regimental court martial to 300 lashes.[131] Nevertheless, the opponents of flogging, like John Shipp, were not satisfied. In 1830, Shipp suggested that forfeiture of pay, solitary confinement and extra drills would be good substitutes for the cat.[132] The response was a change in the Mutiny Act of 1832, whereby regimental courts martial sentences were reduced from a maximum of 300 to 200 lashes,[133] and a Horse Guards circular of 1833 limiting the crimes for which corporal punishment could be imposed. Until this circular limited corporal punishment to the following,

1) mutiny, insubordination and violence, or using or offering violence to superior officers
2) drunkenness on duty
3) sale or making away with arms, ammunition, accoutrements, or necessaries; stealing from comrades; or other disgraceful conduct ...

there was scarcely an offence committed by a soldier which did not subject him to corporal punishment at the discretion of the court martial before which he was tried.[134]

To quell public opinion still further and to satisfy official curiosity, the warrant for the Royal Commission on Military Punishments was signed on 4 March 1835. For the next year, seven men questioned 71 witnesses in order to determine

> whether,... it may be practicable to dispense with the power of inflicting Corporal Punishment, or to make any other changes or modifications in the punishments now applicable to offences committed by the Soldier without detriment or danger to the paramount consideration of maintaining strict discipline, and effectually repressing Crime in the Ranks of the British Army.[135]

The report of the seven commissioners provided some of the most detailed information on official and unofficial practices in the army. This material related not only to forms of punishment and the frequency with which they were inflicted, but also to methods used to occupy the private's leisure hours so that he did not break the rules and require disciplinary action. The importance of this report went far beyond the immediate question of the retention of corporal

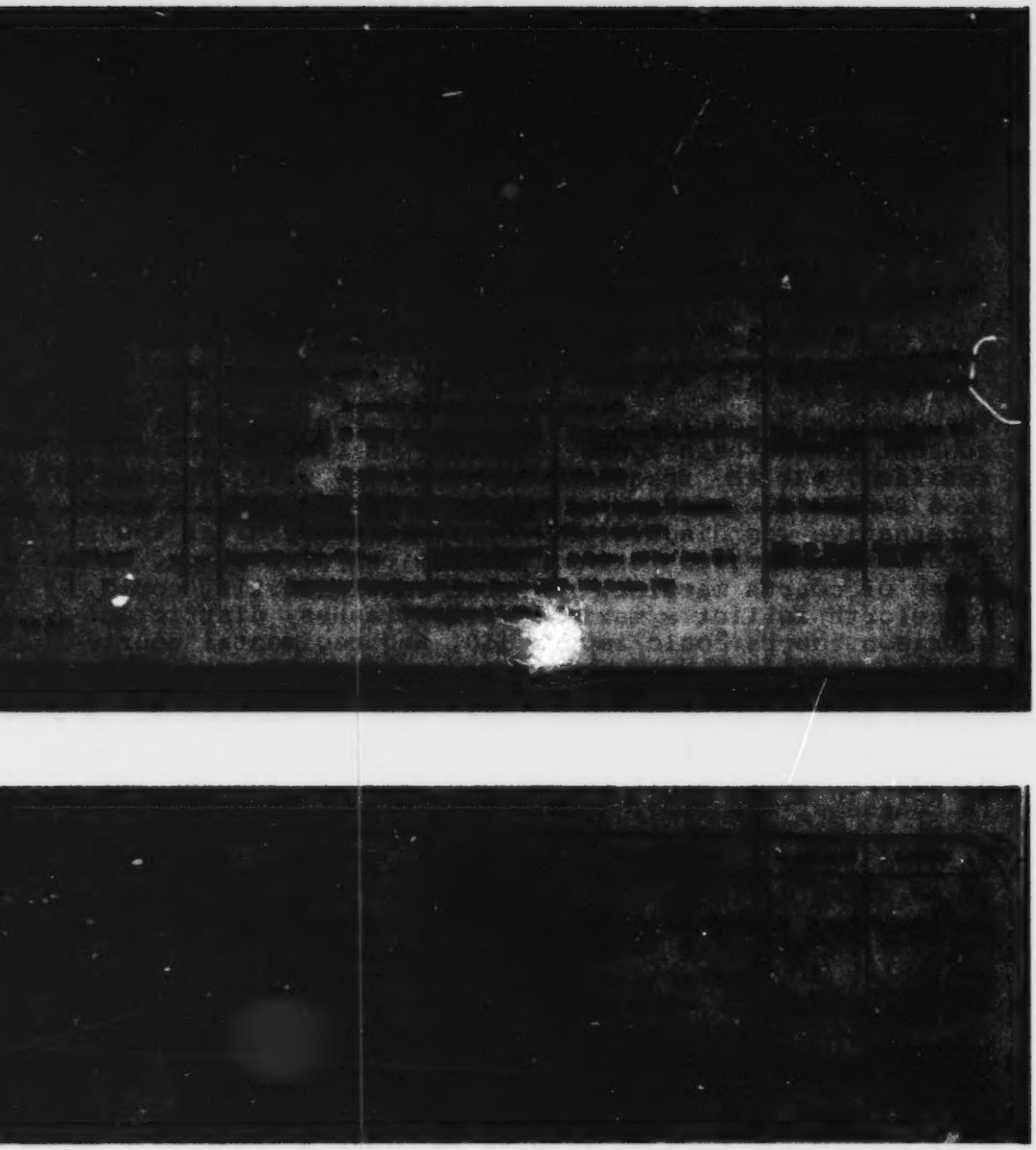

Figure 31. The deplorable career of one John Graves; an extract from a regimental defaulter book. "C.B." is "confined to barrack," "H.L." is "hard labour," and "G.C. pay" is "good conduct pay." (Public Archives Canada.)

punishment. As a direct result of it, military prisons were started, libraries were provided, good-conduct awards instituted, and recreational facilities were improved.

The commissioners found that, although corporal punishment was not considered degrading by the soldiers, it did have some effect as a deterrent.[136] Furthermore,

> after a careful examination into the results of the several substitutes for corporal punishment now in use, we regret to say that none of them, as at present enforced, appear to have answered, or to be likely to answer the purpose of rendering that punishment entirely unnecessary, nor have any others been suggested to us which appear to promise to effect that purpose.[137]

The commission decided, therefore, that since no effective substitute had been found corporal punishment should be retained, but the frequency and severity with which it was used should be further restricted until a workable alternative was discovered.[138] Immediately after the report was released further limitations were placed on the power of courts martial. General courts martial could henceforth inflict a maximum of 200 lashes, district or garrison courts could impose 150, and regimental courts martial 100.[139]

The next reduction in corporal punishment was a direct result of a tragedy. A coroner's jury in England found that Frederick John White, a private, had died from the effects of 150 lashes. As Sir Charles Chichester, who was stationed in Canada at the time, recorded in his diary, "the thing has created great outcry." He continued, "I hate flogging and am glad it is so rare but talking to a person who has seen it as often as I have of 150 lashes being a severe punishment is absurd."[140] Nonetheless, the Duke of Wellington bowed to public opinion and restricted the sentences of regimental courts martial still further, to 50 lashes.[141]

These changes in the power to inflict corporal punishment were reflected in the sentences awarded in the Nova Scotia command. In 1845 most men convicted by a court martial were imprisoned, while a few men were sentenced to from one to two hundred lashes. By 1848 flogging was still practiced, but the maximum sentence was 50 lashes. In 1850, 1855 and 1860, no soldier in Nova Scotia was flogged at all. The lash was used a few times in 1865, but no more than 50 lashes were awarded, and it was not used at all in 1870.[142]

This gradual reduction of the use of the cat was finally recognized in the Articles of War for 1868. In that year, flogging was abolished during peace-time and a firm limit of 50 strokes in time of war was established.[143] It was another 13 years, nonetheless, before Parliament

totally abolished corporal punishment.[144]

> The Royal Commission on Military Punishment had stated in 1836 that undoubtedly the only ground upon which the continuance of any punishment and more especially of any punishment inflicting severe pain, and in itself supposed to be disgraceful, must consist in its efficacy as an example, and although its effect in the way of the reformation of the person undergoing it, should not be, by any means overlooked, that must be considered a secondary object.[145]

By 1871 the army had begun to think in terms of prevention and reformation. Libraries and recreational facilities were provided as an alternative to drink, and men committed to military prisons were encouraged to become model prisoners by a system of rewards and punishments. The army, like society itself, still had a great deal to learn about the prevention of crime and the reformation of the criminal, but it had come a long way from the days when a soldier could be subjected to 3,000 lashes.

LIBRARIES

Discipline was such a problem in the British army that in 1835 seven men were commissioned to inquire into the system of punishments used by the force with the intention of reforming punishments and improving discipline.[1] The final report of the commissioners covered a broad range of subjects, including kinds of punishment, causes of misdemeanors (mostly drunkenness) and recommendations for social improvements. One of these recommendations was for the provision of barrack libraries and reading rooms to entice the soldiers away from taverns. This suggestion was acted on in a general order dated 5 February 1840, which announced the formation of barrack military libraries and reading rooms for non-commissioned officers and privates.[2]

The decision to create libraries for the ranks was a complete reversal of policy. Before 1840, the War Office had considered books dangerous, conducive to republican thought, and likely to lead to mutiny. "The fear of the pamphleteering activities of Jacobins, Radicals and Chartists, the emotionally explosive Biblical commentaries of new sects and the atheistic writings of people like Tom Paine"[3] was so pervasive that only 28 books were permitted in any barrack, and these had been authorized for sick soldiers by a committee of bishops in 1825. Those receiving medical treatment were permitted to read such comforting tomes as *Kind Caution to Profane Swearers*, Pear's *Companion to the Aged* and *Discourse on a Death-bed Repentance*. Before the bishops published their authorized list, the books permitted to sick soldiers were under the authority of the "Chaplain General," who entrusted them to military chaplains for distribution.[4]

Although the reading material available to soldiers was so severely curtailed, some of the regiments in British North America apparently had their own regimental libraries, run by a subscription deducted from the soldiers' pay. A general order of 22 September 1845 suggested that, since garrison libraries had been established, these unauthorized regimental libraries should be abolished and that until they were dissolved, all contributions to them must be voluntary. One man, Paymaster John Winterbottom, testified before the Commission on Military Punishments that the non-commissioned officers in his regiment ran a library on a subscription basis, which was also open to officers and

privates.[5] There is almost no indication of what other regiments had this type of library, how such collections were organized or where they were located. This lack of documentation suggests that there were very few of these unofficial libraries and that they were all recent establishments.

On the other hand, there is no lack of information about the equally unofficial officers' libraries. These were private institutions, maintained by subscriptions from the officers and run by a management committee. The Quebec Garrison Library was formed in 1816, when the officers at that station subscribed to purchase "a very excellent Collection of Books" which was for sale. First housed in the Bishop's Palace, the library was later moved to one of the barracks.[6] When the British army left Canada, the books and maps belonging to this library were transferred to the officers' garrison library at Bermuda. It is not known what became of the officers' library in Montreal, but the one in Halifax still exists as part of the Cambridge Library. Founded in 1817 with £1,000 (part of the customs fees collected at Castine, Maine, during the War of 1812) and 100 guineas donated by Dalhousie, this library was maintained by a subscription of three days' pay per annum.[7] Such libraries were essential, for until 16 December 1852 officers were forbidden to use the facilities of the garrison libraries established in 1840. After 1852, officers subscribed one day's pay per annum to belong to the garrison libraries.[8]

Barrack Libraries

When barrack military libraries were created in 1840, they were for the sole use of those soldiers who consented to a deduction of 1d. per month. The subscribers also agreed to pay the cost (written on the inside cover) of any books lost or irreparably damaged. The cover of each book bore a crown over the words "Military Library." Library hours and privileges were to be determined at the discretion of the commanding officer, who could deny any soldier the right to use the facility for any period up to three weeks. No soldier undergoing any form of punishment could use the library.

At the beginning, 734 volumes were allotted to libraries in Canada; this collection was later increased by the Horse Guards and by private donations, once the titles of such donations had been approved by both the Horse Guards and the War Office. The first garrison libraries in British North America were established in the military schools at Quebec, Montreal, LaPrairie, Ile-aux-Noix, Sorel, Chambly,

Saint-Jean, Carillon, Rideau Canal Barracks and Kingston, and in a room in Fort York, Toronto. According to regulations, these rooms were to be fitted with shelves, closed bookcases, and tables and forms. The whole library was to be managed by a non-commissioned officer as librarian, assisted by the schoolmaster-sergeant.[9]

The first books arrived in the Canadas on 26 October 1840, and libraries were established at Quebec, Montreal and Toronto. Libraries at London and Kingston were added when more books arrived in August 1841.[10] By 1858, more than 9,000 books were available in eight infantry libraries, and there were another 3,000 volumes in two artillery libraries in North America. The Board of Ordnance was responsible for the creation of the artillery libraries, which served the men under the board's command, after the War Office's

Figure 32. "View of the library of the garrison," from John Money Carter, *Select Views of the Rock and Fortress of Gibraltar* (London: Baily Bros., 1846). (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Provinece, R.I.)

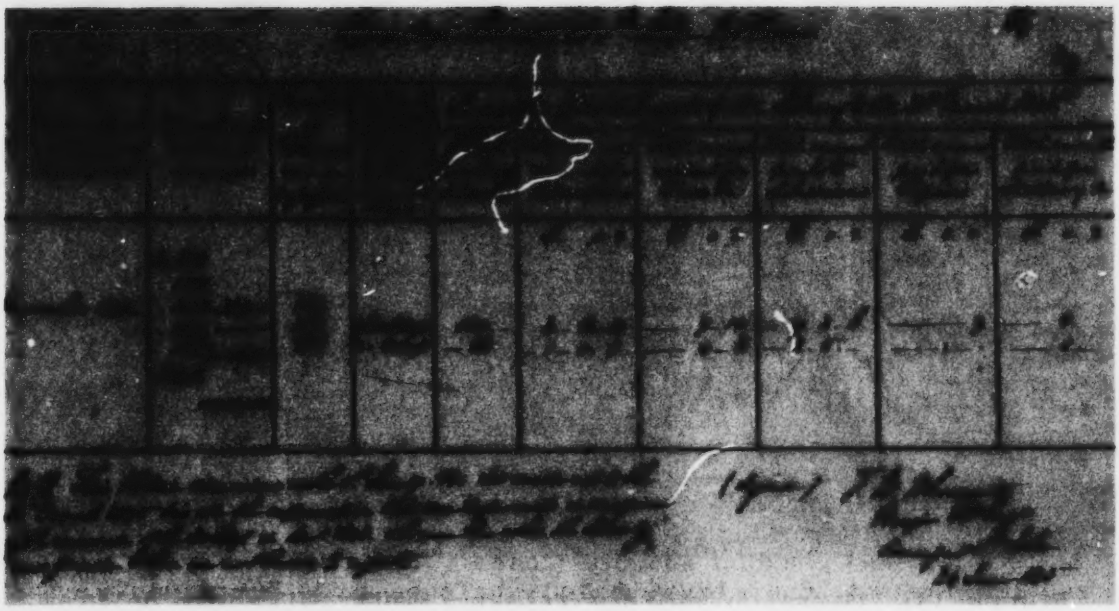

Figure 33. Garrison library return, Saint John, N.B., 1845. (Public Archives Canada.)

decision to establish libraries for the troops of the line. These libraries were organized on a subscription of 4d. per month from each private. The subscribers formed a management committee to run the artillery libraries. Apparently this system of democratic management produced more interest in libraries among the artillery troops than the infantry demonstrated.[11]

Although the War Office and Horse Guards had established barrack libraries, they had not stopped worrying about the dangerous effects of books. In 1853, when the War Office agreed to allow libraries to purchase newspapers for the reading rooms (provided they were paid for by a small voluntary subscription) one qualification was added: "the Officer Commanding the Garrison or Regiment shall be held strictly responsible that no paper tending to the subversion of Morality or Military discipline, shall be authorized, and no paper of a controversial character on Naval and Military or Religious subjects."[12] Apparently *The Provincial Wesleyan* fell into the last category, for the commanding officer at Halifax was denied permission to buy it for the libraries, since all books "should be free from even the appearance of a sectarian character." All periodicals were

Figure 34. Garrison library return, South Barracks, Halifax, 1845. (Public Archives Canada.)

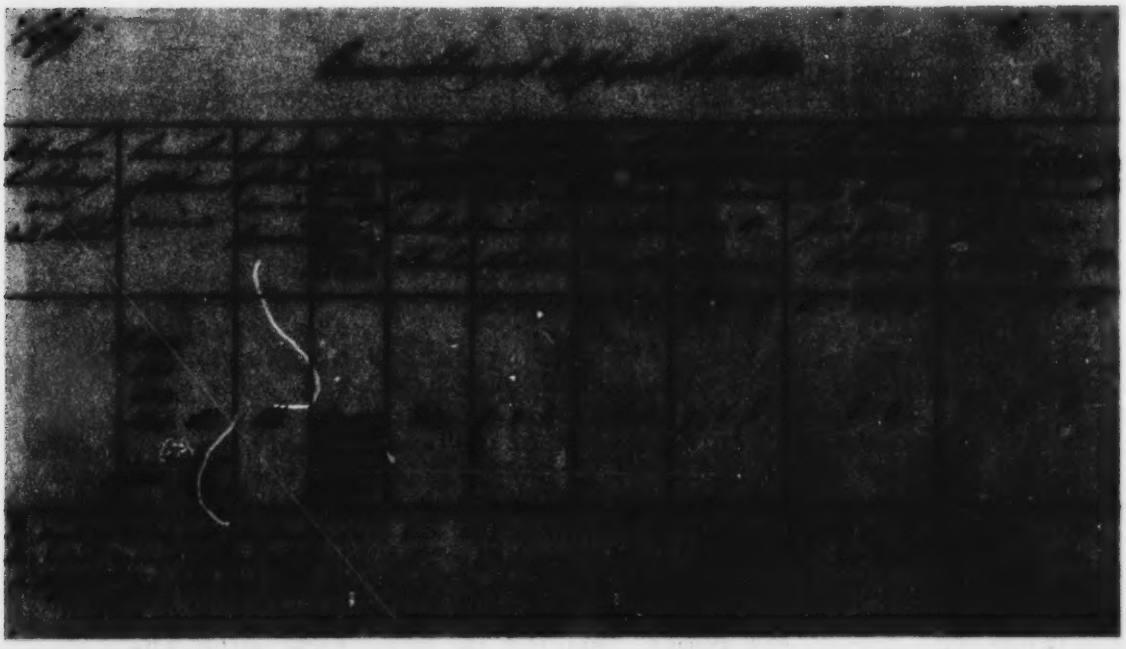

Figure 35. Garrison library return, Halifax, 1845. (Public Archives Canada.)

not forbidden, however. In 1850 the War Office decided that all libraries should subscribe to *Bently's Miscellany* and *Tait's* and *Frazer's* magazines.[13] The library at Toronto also received *Colborne's Magazine*, a military journal, *Dickens' Household Words* and *Leisure Hours*. The Kingston library subscribed to all of these, as well as to *The British Workman* and *Band of Hope Review*.[14]

Army libraries included a variety of books. When the War Office revised its cataloguing system in 1858, the books in military libraries were divided into nine categories: reference works, biography, military and naval, travel, entertainment and fiction, poetry, general literature, natural history, and serious and sacred subjects. The two largest categories were travel and entertainment and fiction. The War Office later ordered that the books comprising the serious and sacred category should be made available to the chaplain to distribute among sick soldiers and to any governor of a military prison for the rehabilitation of his charges.[15]

In 1859, J.H. Lefroy, Inspector General of Army Schools, reported on the use of all British garrison libraries. He noted that books of entertainment and fiction were the most frequently read. Of 264 books "worn out by fair use," 205 were novels. Lefroy explained the heavy demand on books by Charles Dickens, Jane Austen, Maria Edgeworth, James Fenimore Cooper, Henry Fielding and Sir Walter Scott by citing the limited education of the ranks. He noted that

> the bulk of subscribers to military libraries are quite incapable of appreciating books written for educated readers; the knowledge presupposed is far beyond their acquirements. Much even of the language is unknown to them.... Moreover a soldier's opportunities of reading are too desultory to incline him to begin large works.

Lefroy also pointed out that the troops quickly exhausted all the reading material which appealed to them. Since the War Office supplied all books from a catalogue which, in 1858, encompassed 2,458 books, only 581 of them fiction, the same books were sent to all libraries.[16]

Garrison libraries, therefore, had only a partial success. Colonel Bourchier at Kingston asked for more books, "as experience has fully shown the good effects of those Libraries, and the inducements they hold out to withdraw the Soldiers from drinking houses."[17] But Colonel William Maurice, commanding the 39th Regiment at Quebec, found them insufficient. In December 1857 he added another reading room equipped with newspapers, writing materials, and sets for chess, backgammon and dominoes. In addition, he and his fellow officers lectured at least one

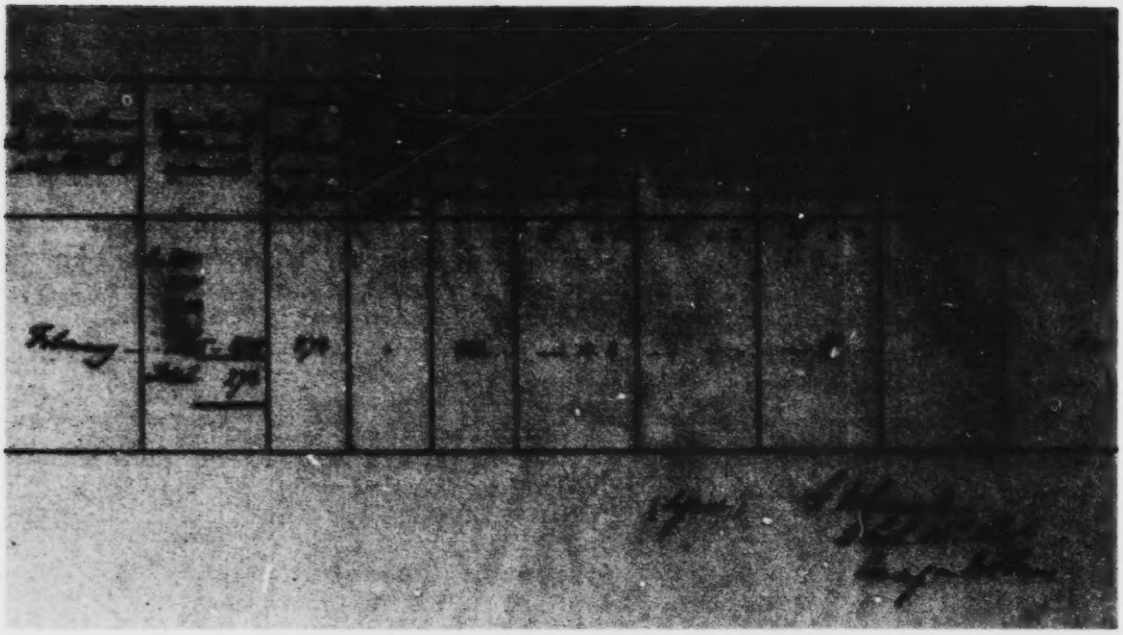

Figure 36. Garrison library return, Fredericton, 1845. (Public Archives Canada.)

night a week on such subjects as the manufacture of guns and gunpowder, the history of the United States, "The Life of the Duke of Malborough" and "Great Men in Youth and Old Age." According to Maurice, the lectures and reading room were so successful that they proposed to continue them the following winter.[18]

Meanwhile, the War Office was planning the addition of games to the reading rooms. In February 1858 it was announced that, in future, all garrison libraries would be equipped with chess sets, draughts, backgammon, solitaire and dominoes. There was also a clause which permitted commanding officers to provide tea and coffee in the recreation room, if they wished to make the necessary arrangements. It was not until December 1862, however, that the games were shipped to the library at Montreal, the military headquarters for the Canada command.[19]

Apparently the new games rooms were so successful that further instructions about them were issued five years later. Whenever possible, separate kitchens or a small cooking area were to be added for the preparation of coffee, tea and snacks. The regulations and furnishings for these enlarged recreation rooms reveal a radical change in attitude to the soldier's comfort. Not only were the walls and ceilings to be plastered and coloured (probably with

tinted whitewash), but the rooms were also to be decorated with framed prints and maps. Furthermore, the War Office authorized coconut matting - a previously unheard of luxury for soldiers, as were the window blinds and spittoons. Possibly the War Office was hoping that comfortable, attractive rooms would entice the men away from their barracks or taverns to a respectable leisure activity. Whatever the motive, this was the first time the War Office had ever approved any surroundings other than the most utilitarian.[20]

While the War Office was to provide the equipment for these new games rooms, Major F. Hamilton complained that the barrack master in Halifax would not supply any of the necessary items. He was therefore obliged to purchase locally a bagatelle board, two coffee kettles, 30 cups and saucers and a dozen spittoons to make the rooms attractive and maintain the number of subscribers.[21] Major

Figure 37. Soldier's Reading Room, St. Mary's Barracks, Chatham. This drawing from *The Illustrated London News* seems to indicate that reading rooms in England were much more popular in England than Canada. The furniture in the illustration does not correspond exactly to the regulations but it does give an indication of how such rooms were laid out.

Hamilton does not mention such matters as plastering and colouring, but presumably these were not done since he was having difficulties requisitioning even the incidentals. The problems in setting up the new recreation rooms at Halifax were probably minor compared to those of the other stations. By this time, British politicians, and especially the leaders of the governing Liberal Party, were determined to withdraw British troops from the defense of Canada.[22] It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that at most garrisons only minor and inexpensive steps were taken to implement the new directive on libraries and reading rooms.

The improvement that these libraries and reading rooms made in the life of the soldier should not be overlooked. They were the first tangible result of the Royal Commission on Military Punishments, and reflected a very real change in the attitude of the bureaucracy toward its responsibility to common soldiers. Before 1840, most recreational activities were the result of the initiative of individual officers. Such initiative continued to be important after 1840, but it was supported by official direction and approval. Garrison libraries were a substantial improvement, at first for the soldiers who could read, and later for their illiterate companions.

RELIGION: TOMMY 'OW'S YER SOUL?

Every Sunday the troops of the British army paraded to church in the local garrison town. They must have been a colourful sight in their scarlet tunics and side-arms, sometimes accompanied by their bands, with sentries posted at the church doors. Edgar Andrew Collard gave a description of church parade in Montreal:

> The 78th Highlanders used to attend Christ Church Cathedral. Swinging around Phillips Place and Phillips Square headed by their band and pipes, they debouched into St. Catharine St., and into the grand old Cathedral. The band went in last, marched right up to the pulpit and deposited their drums in pyramid shape, with brasses standing against the drums. When all were seated, it was a wonderful sight to look from the south door along the main aisle. At the end of each pew was a pile of bearskins, ending at the pulpit with the pile of band instruments. If you have never heard a thousand soldiers singing hymns, you have something to hear.[1]

Church parade, with its pomp, seemed so appropriate and so straightforward. Nevertheless, religion presented special problems for the army, for in England the church was not only a social institution but a political one as well. While the Church of England did not receive much direct financial support from the state, its position was secured and supported by legal means. Religious services like baptisms, weddings and funerals could only be performed by the established church. Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters did not share full civil rights, although the practice of their religion was seldom impeded after the beginning of the 18th century. The Test and Corporation Acts required office holders to swear oaths of allegiance and to partake of communion according to the rites of the Church of England. Dissenting Protestants were eventually granted dispensations from the latter requirement by annual indemnity acts. In 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed, permitting dissenters to hold public office without violating their consciences, and in the following year the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act gave Catholics the same privileges.

Since both the army estimates and the religion of those

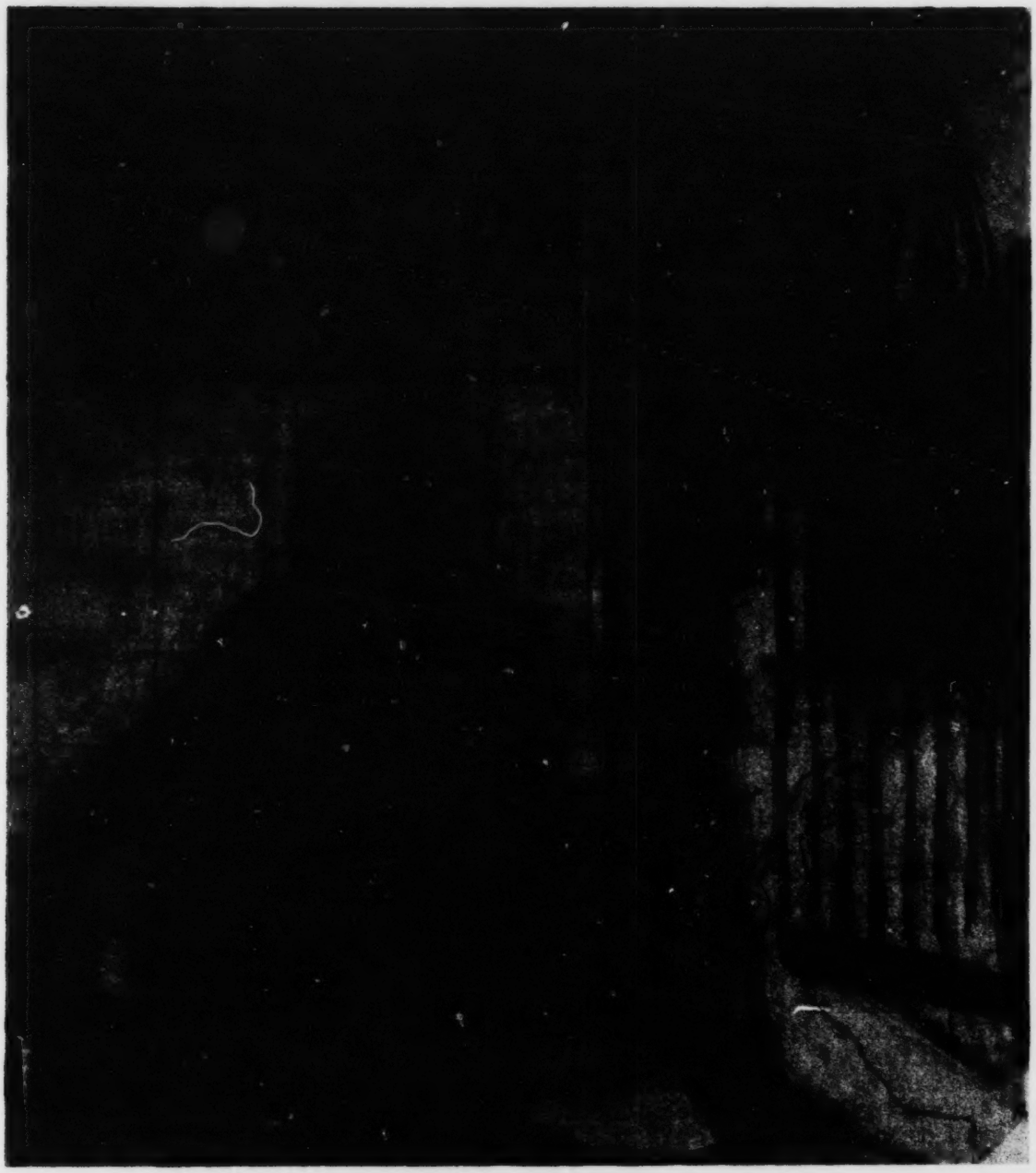

Figure 38. "The Divine St. Andrews, N.B.," pencil and water-colour drawing by Lieutenant James Cumming Clarke, ca. 1850. (Public Archives Canada.)

who held public office (such as the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies) came within the purview of Parliament in the 18th century, Parliament insisted that the religion of the army was to be that practised by the established church. Chaplains were ministers of the Church of England, paid out of army estimates for the duties they supposedly performed for the ranks. It was all very tidy except for one fact: a large number of soldiers were not members of the Church of England. For a number of reasons the Irish formed a large, and Roman Catholic, proportion of the army. Similarly the Scottish regiments consisted mainly of Presbyterians and Catholics. The faith of these men could not be neglected, especially by authorities who believed that religion was a deterrent not only to drunkenness but also to rebellion - and the last half of the 18th century was a period of revolution. For those in authority it was a distressing problem, and one that only disappeared gradually as religious tolerance grew within England.

Attaining religious toleration was a very slow process for ideological and historical reasons. From the first Elizabeth's reign on, Roman Catholics were suspected of plotting to deliver England to continental and Catholic nations or to a Catholic usurper. The Protestant dissenters were thought to be radicals and rampant democrats who would destroy the foundations of the country if they were ever to gain power. These attitudes were responsible for the Test and Corporation Acts and the official prohibition against Catholics serving in the army; giving them access to arms would surely lead to another civil war or a *coup d'etat*.[2] The prohibition against Catholics serving in the army fell most heavily on the Irish. Supposedly no Irishman could be enlisted in the army until 1756, when Irish Protestants were allowed to join. The ban on Roman Catholics was not lifted until 1799, when the drain on soldiers caused by the Napoleonic wars forced the British government to accept anyone willing to bear arms. Religious toleration became politically and militarily expedient.[3] In at least two previous emergencies, however, the ban on Roman Catholics had been lifted. Irish troops, regardless of their religion, were enlisted for service in the Portuguese-Spanish War; but in permitting them to enlist, Viscount Ligonier, Master General of Ordnance, laid down one stipulation: "I never suffer a man who is suspected to be a Papist to Enlist in the Regiment of Artillery." Later, Roman Catholic colonists were formed into a Volunteer Provincial Corps during the American Revolutionary War.[4] Actually, the problem of Roman Catholic participation in the army is even more complicated. Because there were separate parliaments for Ireland and England in the 18th century, the Catholic prohibitory clauses were lifted in the two countries at different dates. In fact, during the 18th century, there were two separate armies, the British army

and the Irish establishment. The Irish Catholic Relief Act of 1793 (33 Geo. III, ca. 21) permitted Roman Catholics to hold military commissions in Ireland. Unfortunately the movement of soldiers is not confined by such purely political borders, and individuals and regiments crossed back and forth across the Irish Sea. Legally a Roman Catholic had to resign his commission when he was transferred to England, but not suprisingly this legal restraint was ignored.[5] Furthermore, as J.R. Western has pointed out, English Roman Catholics even accepted commissions. According to the Test Act, an officer was supposed to present himself before a court of law and take the oath of supremacy, but no one had the responsibility for enforcing the rule and few men, Anglicans or Catholics, complied.[6] By 1798 the only effective barrier to the granting of a commission to a Roman Catholic in England was George III. If he knew an individual to be a Catholic he refused to sign the commission.[7]

By the beginning of the 19th century, therefore, Roman Catholics were enlisted as soldiers and commissioned as officers in the British army, but the army did not provide separate religious services for them. By 1811 Roman Catholics were not to be punished for being absent from the parade to the Church of England service and were to have every opportunity to attend a Catholic church "when Military Duty does not interfere."[8] Nevertheless, it must have taken considerable personal courage for those men in regiments with only a few Catholics to defy peer pressure as well as official displeasure and not to turn out for parade to the local Anglican church. In some instances official orders were ignored and "Catholic Soldiers were marched to the Protestant church."[9]

Even when Catholics were permitted to attend their own churches, they were not provided with their own chaplains. Finally in 1836, seven years after the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act and nine years after the Presbyterians became a separate branch of the Army Chaplain's Department, Roman Catholic chaplains were recognized; even then they reported directly to the War Office.[10] There are indications that Roman Catholic priests in England were being paid to serve as chaplains in 1813,[11] but there is contradictory evidence as well; in 1827 they were not receiving pay: "as the R.C. Faith is not a religion in this Country established by law, there is no allowance made to its Ministers for the Duties they perform."[12] It seems likely that some extraordinary circumstance caused the army to pay Catholic priests in 1813, for no priests in North America received any remuneration from the army until the 1840s. During the same decade the army began to provide Douay Bibles for Catholic soldiers.[13]

It is difficult to determine exactly how many soldiers were Roman Catholics until 1861, when statistics were first

compiled. At that time, 28 per cent of the rank and file were Catholics, 10.9 per cent were Presbyterians and 59.3 per cent were Anglicans.[14] The last-mentioned figure may be slightly inflated by the tendency to list all Methodists and other Protestant dissenters as Anglicans. Not surprisingly, the proportion of Catholics is almost exactly the same as the proportion of Irish soldiers serving in the army. Since the ratio of Irish soldiers was declining by the time the statistics were compiled,[15] it seems likely that the percentage of Catholics was also lower in 1861 than it had been earlier in the 19th century, before the provision of chaplains for Roman Catholics.

Chaplains

Army chaplains for Anglican soldiers were formally established by Oliver Cromwell for his New Model Army, an army which believed that God marched on its side. But in the century that followed the Roundheads, both commanders and chaplains paid increasingly less attention to the provision of religious services for the rank and file.[16] The regimental chaplaincy was in the gift of the colonel, who sold the position, with its pay, to the highest bidder. The chaplain then performed his duties or hired a deputy to do them - the latter was usually the case. Troops on foreign service frequently did not have even a deputy. In 1763 Thomas Gage complained to Amherst about the number of chaplains absent and the "strange stuff they gett [*sic*] to officiate as their Deputies."[17] At some stations, like Halifax, there was also a garrison chaplain, whose duties were minimal when regimental chaplains or their deputies were present. The incumbent at Halifax, the Reverend Mather Byles, claimed "as my Chaplaincy here is a perfect Sinecure, I have Liberty to retain it, & leave of Absence, appointing my own Deputy purely as a Matter of Form." In 1789 the garrison chaplains at Annapolis and Quebec resided in England - rather a sorry comment on devotion to duty.[18]

This situation was supposed to be corrected by a warrant of 23 September 1796. Secretary at War, William Windham, abolished deputies and regimental chaplaincies, establishing a new system of brigade chaplains (all Anglicans) under the supervision of a chaplain general. Garrison chaplains on foreign service were to perform their duties or be relieved of their positions and pay.[19] This new, closer supervision of army chaplains should have corrected all the abuses, but unfortunately the service requirements, coupled with a lower rate of pay, reduced the number of chaplains. Since one could no longer turn a

profit from a chaplaincy, few men were willing to join the service.[20]

On 21 December 1809 new orders governing army chaplains were issued. The new rank of chaplains commissioned by the king were liable for service anywhere the army was stationed; accordingly their pay and allowances were improved.[21] In the meantime, an *ad hoc* arrangement had been made in British North America which was continued until the army left in 1870. Local Anglican clergymen, like the Reverend Robert Addison of St. Mark's parish in Niagara-on-the-Lake, were paid to minister to the British army detachment in the area.[22]

The duties of chaplains were established by a circular in 1811. The Duke of York (Commander-in-Chief) ordered all chaplains to attend the sick in hospital twice a week and to preach a suitable sermon every Sunday. But when this circular was issued in Canada on 24 March 1812, Sir George Prevost, Commander-in-Chief in North America, added a codicil relieving some of the chaplains in British North America from completely fulfilling the requirements of the Horse Guards. Prevost claimed that "the various important Parochial avocations of several of the Clergymen appointed to perform the Religious duties of the Army" would render it impossible for them to devote their full attention to the army.[23]

By 1812, therefore, the system of chaplains for the Canadian colonies had been fixed; local Anglican clergymen were to attend the sick soldiers and preach to the troops every Sunday in the neighbourhood church. For performing these services, the minister received a stipend from the army which supplemented the local collection or funds from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In this unintentional manner, the British army helped to provide religious services for the colonies, aid that was especially welcome in sparsely settled areas like Upper Canada. In April 1812 the army was paying 13 Anglican clergymen in the four colonies. Although the number of chaplains varied as new posts were opened and closed, the system remained one of the few instances in which army money was paid directly for the services of a professional man and not for goods or labour.[24]

The War Office did more than subsidize the clergy; the army helped to build and maintain churches as well. A grant of £500 was given to rebuild St. Mark's in Niagara-on-the-Lake after the Americans destroyed the church, which the British army had used as a provision store, hospital and barrack during the War of 1812.[25] Aid in terms of rent, as well as a supplement to the minister, were given to St. Paul's in London, Canada West.[26] It should be noted that all this money (and there are other instances) went only to support the Church of England, the establishment church. In spite of the fact that many colonists belonged

to evangelical sects such as the Methodists and Baptists, they received virtually no support, except in Halifax, where the army rented buildings from these two dissenting congregations in order to hold Anglican services. Presumably these particular buildings were rented because the Anglicans had no suitable ones.[27]

Only a minority of the colonists were Anglicans, but the effect of the army's connection with the Church of England may have altered the religious character of the colonies, most especially in the garrison towns. Government centres like Halifax and York would have been predominantly Anglican even without army money, but the case is not nearly as clear-cut in towns such as London and Amherstburg. The provision of army money, as well as the social prestige of attending the church of the officers (an upper-class element

Figure 39. Garrison Chapel, Halifax, 1870. Built by the British army, this chapel served all Anglican soldiers in Halifax from 1846 to 1905. It must have been an impressive sight to see the soldiers assembling from the Citadel and Wellington Barracks on Sunday morning to hear a sermon which "ended promptly with the firing of the noon gun," (*See* Phyllis R. Blakeley, *Glimpses of Halifax, 1867-1900* [Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1949], p. 11). (Public Archives Nova Scotia.)

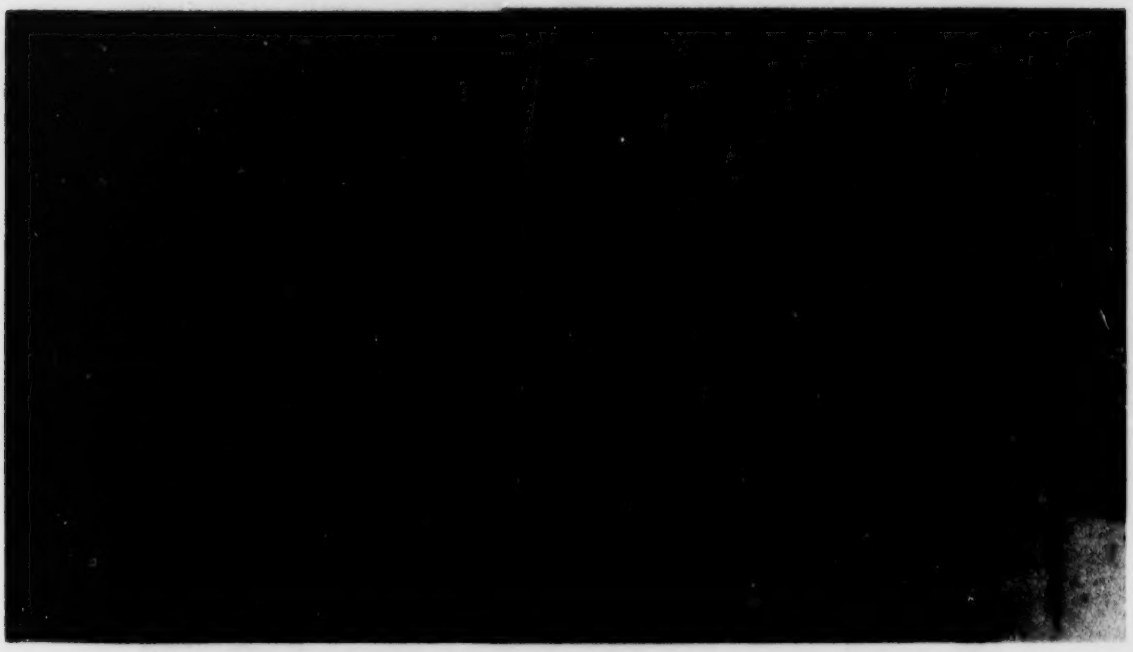

Figure 40. Garrison Church parade, Halifax. (Public Archives Nova Scotia.)

in any frontier community) may well have effected a change in the community pattern.

The presence of British soldiers in Lower Canada helped to reinforce the tiny Anglican community. For political reasons the British government was committed to maintaining the existence of the Church of England amid a predominantly Roman Catholic population. The soldiers served as a partial justification for any expenditure on the established church. The money would probably have been spent even if the army had not been there, but with the presence of British soldiers at least some of the churches were not quite so empty.

It would seem, therefore, that relations between the British army and Anglican parishioners in North America were very amicable - but such was not always the case. Many of the churches in the colonies were small; they had been built to accommodate only the local parishioners out of the meagre funds which the colonists could spare from establishing themselves in a new country. A sudden influx of soldiers to the Sunday morning service sometimes crowded the local people out. In these instances the soldiers were deeply resented; they were not paying seat or pew rents (the sum the army paid the minister was technically for his

attendance at the hospital) but they were occupying the seats of those who did pay pew rent. This problem was not confined to Anglican parishes; it also arose in Presbyterian and Catholic churches when the army began to parade soldiers to those services.[28] When issues of this nature flared up, the commanding officer usually arranged for the soldiers to attend church at a separate service, for which an extra allowance was paid to the minister.[29] This alleviated the crowding problem, but separated the soldiers from the community in which they resided.

Ministering to the Flock

The duties of military chaplains in practice were far more than they were in theory. A chaplain's pay was contingent on his attending sick soldiers in hospital twice a week; later this was reduced to once a week for local clergymen hired as chaplains.[30] But, as the Reverend Theophilus DesBrisay in Charlottetown discovered, he was also expected to act as librarian for soldiers in hospital. He was given charge of the few books which soldiers were permitted to read, all approved by a special board of prelates.[31] Religious books, Bibles, Testaments, Prayerbooks and tracts were first introduced into military hospitals in 1810, at the request of Chaplain General, John Owen, who felt that "the time of sickness is for the young & heedless the time for reflection. It is in the Hospitals that the Soldiers discern the result of vice & intemperence."[32]

The clerk of the senior chaplain in Quebec had charge of the garrison lending library and a fund entitled "Asylum for Soldiers' Widows," the money for which came from the Sunday collections.[33] The duties of the lending library were definitely unofficial; Chaplain General Dakins wrote in reply to a request for financial aid, "however desirable may be a lending library, I cannot afford assistance - the object is good but I have no fund for the purpose." In 1824 the chaplain to the forces was the librarian of the officers' library at Quebec.[34]

When the chaplain general became "Inspector General of Military Schools" in 1846,[35] the duties of his staff increased as well. For the next 10 years all chaplains were to attend the local military school on a weekly basis as rudimentary school inspectors. This was not a new idea; it had been proposed as early as 1777 by Thomas Simes who wanted army chaplains to appoint schoolteachers to teach reading, writing and arithmetic to soldiers and their children.[36] Indeed when military schools for army children were formally established in 1812, the Duke of York

demanded that chaplains

> give their aid and assistance to the Military Officers in promoting the success of these Institutions, by frequently visiting the Regimental Schools of their Divisions and Garrisons; by diligently scrutinizing the conduct of the Serjeant Schoolmasters; examining the progress and general behaviour of the children; and reporting the result of their observations to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment.[37]

The success of this arrangement depended greatly on the diligence and interest of both the chaplain and the commanding officer.

> The regular army chaplains were able to inspect with some regularity, and probably with some uniformity of aim, but they were powerless to assist in the carrying out of their recommendations. The civilian clergymen who officiated in more than half the stations of the army were even less powerful.[38]

Indeed, sometimes the commanding officer objected to the chaplain's intervention. Sir Charles Chichester complained,

> I am afraid the clergyman had been doing harm, he made Mrs. Monley teach them hymns. This is all very well for those who can read & who may learn out of school hours, but the little ones who learn it by repetition, hearing the school mistress repeat it take up her time unprofitably.[39]

This remark illustrates the problems before 1846. The chaplain had no authority to change the school curriculum; in fact he was only supposed to make recommendations to Chichester, who had the option of implementing them. Neither officer had any training as a schoolteacher or inspector, nor was either of them given any guidance towards understanding educational problems.

The army chaplains' effectiveness as school inspectors improved when the Reverend G.R. Gleig, Principal Chaplain, became Inspector General of Military Education. Gleig, Chaplain General from 1844 to 1875, was one of Wellington's biographers, a prolific author, and the editor of "Gleig's School Series."[40] He provided a focus for inspectors; the chaplains knew that their reports would be read with interest and that changes could result. In return, Gleig provided instructions and guidance.[41] But this period ended in 1857, when Gleig resigned as Inspector General of Military Education. A political struggle ensued, and the chaplains were informed that "Regimental and Garrison Day Schools are no longer entrusted to their charge."[42] The new orders recommended that they substitute Sunday schools

"wherein they may instruct the children of their respective congregations in the Doctrine and duties of religion, and in principals [*sic*] of sound morality, loyalty and obedience." Some chaplains also held evening Bible study sessions for soldiers.[43] According to Captain Maximilian Hammond, the Bible classes in Kingston were "well attended and give encouragement to hope that the good seed may not be sown in vain."[44]

Hammond was not the only officer concerned about the moral welfare of the men he commanded, but his biography, *Memoir of Captain M.M. Hammond*, gives the fullest accounts of prayer meetings in Halifax, Montreal and Kingston. His exultation over the presence of 44 men at a Sunday evening prayer meeting in Kingston in 1848 is in reality an indication of how few private soldiers were reached by this type of assembly.[45] This real lack of interest in religion was reported by the Toronto chaplain, the Reverend George C. Williams, who complained "I find it all but impossible to secure the attendance of the families of the troops to attend the voluntary Service on Sunday at 4:00 p.m."[46]

Preserving the soldiers' moral fibre (officially, at least) was a constant problem in the 19th century. A request for another chaplain for Kingston was made "in order to preserve some idea of Religion among the Soldiery, who are every day becoming more regardless of all morality and decency of conduct," while in Quebec City changing the hour of church parade to 1:30 p.m. acted "as a restraint on the Soldiers during the preceding portion of the day, and has prevented much debauchery."[47]

In an effort to counteract the prevailing indifference to religion, the Naval and Military Bible Society was founded in 1780 to provide the men with Bibles and Testaments. Under the patronage of the Duke of York, this organization began corresponding with the commanding officers of each regiment in 1818 to ensure that they had enough Bibles, especially for those in hospital or attending regimental schools.[48] In addition, many officers actively promoted the work of the civilian Bible societies, like the British and Foreign Bible Society among the colonists. Eventually these Bible societies used this opening to distribute Bibles and religious tracts to soldiers, but this was soon forbidden by the commander-in-chief,[49] that same Duke of York who was patron of the Naval and Military Bible Society. The only religious materials that were to be made available for the soldiers to read were the Bibles, Testaments and Books of Common Prayer provided by the Naval and Military Bible Society for every man who could read, or the tracts chosen from the list published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.[50] Despite the gift of Bibles to the men, the women and children of the army were not to receive them;

women could read their husbands' copies and children the regimental school's.[51]

It was not until the British army was preparing to leave Canada that the Horse Guards made a full statement on the religious leadership to be given by the officers. The commander-in-chief welcomed co-operation between the chaplains and officers, but strongly opposed the latter preaching publicly, even to civilians. He felt that those officers who had expressed a wish to give religious instruction to their men should resign their commissions and become missionaries. Any officer who went beyond "a life of cheerful piety, honourable dealing, and strict attention to his duties" disrupted the discipline of the ranks and offended those men who belonged to a different sect.[52] No longer was an officer to use his position or authority to influence the consciences of the men he led. Religious toleration was to be safeguarded.

The army, like the British nation as a whole, had made considerable advances both in its toleration of religious dissent and in its provision of services to the rank and file. It had come a long way from the strict establishmentarianism of the 18th century to the recognition that the sect one belonged to was a matter of conscience, not of subversion, disobedience or insubordination. The changes in law and practice illustrate a trend toward an understanding of and concern for the spiritual welfare of soldiers.

APPENDIX A. ADMINISTRATION

1 Secretaries at War, 1755-1858

William Wildman Barrington, 2nd Viscount Barrington	1755-61
Charles Townshend	1761-62
Welbore Ellis, later 1st Baron Mendip	1762-65
Viscount Barrington (2nd term)	1765-78
Charles Jenkinson, later 1st Earl of Liverpool	1778-82
Thomas Townshend, later 1st Viscount Sidney	1782 (Jan.-March)
Sir George Yonge	1782-83
General Richard Fitzpatrick	1783-84
Sir George Yonge (2nd term)	1784-94
William Windham	1794-1801
Charles Philip Yorke	1801-03
Charles Bragge-Bathurst	1803-04
William Dundas	1804-06
General Richard Fitzpatrick (2nd term)	1806-07
General Sir James Murray (later Murray Pulteney)	1807-09
Lord Granville Leveson-Gower, later 1st Earl Granville	1809 (June-Oct.)
Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston	1809-28
Henry Hardinge, later 1st Viscount Hardinge of Lahore	1828-30
Francis Leveson-Gower, later Francis Egerton, Earl of Ellesmere	1830 (June-July)
Charles Watkins Williams Wynn	1830-31
Henry Brooke Parnell, later 1st Baron Congleton	1831-32
John Cam Hobhouse, later Baron Broughton	1832-33
Edward Ellice the elder	1833-34
John Charles Herries	1834-35
Sir Henry George Grey, Viscount Howick, later 3rd Earl Grey	1835-39
Thomas Babington Macaulay, later Baron Macaulay	1839-41
Henry Hardinge (2nd term)	1841-44
Sir Thomas Francis Fremantle, later 1st Baron Cottesloe	1844-45
Sidney Herbert, later 1st Lord Herbert of Lea	1845-46
Fox Maule, later 2nd Baron Panmure, 11th Earl of Dalhousie	1846-52
Robert Vernon Smith, later Robert Vernon, Baron Lyveden	1852(Feb.)
Sidney Herbert	1852-55

Fox Maule, Lord Panmure (2nd term)	1855-58

2 Commanders-in-Chief, 1757-1895

John Ligonier, later Earl Ligonier	1757-59
John Manners, Marquis of Granby	1766-70
Jeffrey, Baron Amherst	1778-82
Henry Seymour Conway	1782-83
(There was no commander-in-chief from 1783 to 1793)	
Lord Amherst (2nd term)	1793-95
Frederick Augustus, Duke of York	1795-1809
David Dundas	1809-11
Duke of York (2nd term)	1811-27
(Between 27 Jan. and 27 Aug. 1827 Lord Palmerston assumed duties)	
Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington	1827-28
Rowland, 1st Viscount Hill	1828-42
Duke of Wellington	1842-52
Lord Hardinge	1852-56
George William Frederick Charles, 2nd Duke of Cambridge	1856-95

3 Masters General of His Majesty's Ordnance, 1755-1855

Charles Spencer, 3rd Duke of Marlborough	1755-58
Lord Ligonier	1759-63
Marquis of Granby	1763-70
George, 4th Viscount (later 1st Marquis) Townshend	1772-82
Charles Lennox, later 3rd Duke of Richmond and Lennox	1782-83
Lord Townshend (2nd term)	1783 (April-Dec.)
Charles Lennox (2nd term)	1783-95
Charles, 2nd Earl and 1st Marquis Cornwallis	1795-1801
John Pitt, 2nd Earl Chatham	1801-06
Francis Rawdon-Hastings, 2nd Earl (later 1st Marquis) of Moira	1806-07
Earl Chatham (2nd term)	1807-10
Henry Phipps, later 1st Earl of Mulgrave	1810-18
Duke of Wellington	1819-27
Henry William Paget, 1st Marquis of Anglesey	1827-28
Viscount Beresford	1828-30
Sir James Kempt	1830-34
Sir George Murray	1834-35
Richard Vivian, later 1st Baron Vivian	1835-41
Sir George Murray (2nd term)	1841-46

Marquis of Anglesey (2nd term)	1846-52
Viscount Hardinge	1852
Fitzroy Somerset, 1st Baron Raglan	1852-55
On Raglan's death, the office was abolished	

4 Secretaries of State for War and the Colonies, 1794-1874

The office was created in 1794 as Secretary of State for War; the title was changed in 1798 to Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. During his ministry, Pitt was Secretary of State for War and Foreign Affairs.

Henry Dundas, later 1st Viscount Melville	1794-1801
Robert, Baron Hobart, later 4th Earl of Buckinghamshire	1801-04
John Jeffreys Pratt, 2nd Earl (later 1st Marquis) of Camden	1804-05
Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, later 2nd Marquis of Londonderry	1805-06
William Windham	1806-07
Lord Castlereagh (2nd term)	1807-09
Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd Earl of Liverpool	1809-12
Henry, 3rd Earl Bathurst	1812-27
Frederick John Robinson, Viscount Goderich, later Earl of Ripon	1827-28
Sir George Murray	1828-30
Viscount Goderich	1830-33
Edward George Geoffrey Smith, Lord Stanley, later 14th Earl of Derby	1833-34
Thomas Spring Rice, later Thomas Spring-Rice, 1st Baron Monteagle	1834 (June-Dec.)
George Hamilton Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen	1834-35
Charles Grant, Baron Glenelg	1835-39
Constantine Henry Phipps, Marquis of Normanby	1839 (Feb.-Sept.)
Lord John Russell, later 1st Earl Russell	1839-41
Lord Stanley (2nd term)	1841-45
William Ewart Gladstone	1845-46
Sir Henry George Grey, Viscount Howick, 3rd Earl Grey	1846-52
Sir John Somerset Pakington, later 1st Baron Hampton	1852 (Feb.-Dec.)
Henry Pelham Finnes Pelham Clinton, 5th Duke of Newcastle	1852-55
(In 1854 the office dropped responsibility for the colonies. In 1857 it was renamed the War Office.)	
Lord Panmure	1855-58
General Jonathan Peel	1858-59
Sidney Herbert (created Lord Herbert of Lea, 1861)	1859-61
Sir George Cornewall Lewis	1861-63

George Frederick Robinson, Earl de Grey and Ripon, later 1st Marquis of Ripon	1863-66
Spencer Compton Cavendish, Marquis of Hartington, later 8th Duke of Devonshire	1866 (Feb.-June)
General Jonathan Peel (2nd term)	1866-67
Sir John Somerset Pakington (2nd term)	1867-68
Edward Cardwell, later Viscount Cardwell	1868-74

5 **List of Accounts kept by the Commissariat**
DEBIT SIDE OF THE ACCOUNT CURRENT
Extraordinaries from A. to H. inclusive....

A.	Supplies for Rations of Provisions and Forage	To include provisions, spirits, wine, forage, &c.
B.	Fuel and Light	To include fuel, candles, oil, cotton-wick, &c.

[The articles included under these two heads are purchased stored, and issued by the Commissariat department.]

C.	Miscellaneous Purchases	To include all payments for stores, implements, &c. of whatever description, not included under the two preceding heads, or under letter G, nor paid for by drafts from the officers of the Ordnance Department, letter I.
D.	Transport	To include freight, lighterage, cartage, truckage, &c.
E.	Pay of Extra Staff, &c.	To include the pay of all persons not chargeable upon the Ordinaries, or under letters G, I and L.
F.	Military Allowances	To include lodging-money and all other allowances, except pay and such military allowances as may be comprised under letters I and K.
G.	Special Services	To include only such services as are peculiar to particular stations, such as in Canada: Indian and

		Settlers' departments. West Indies, &c.: Pensions of Black soldiers. Expenditure for army vessels. Subsistence of 3d West India regiment, &c.
H.	Contingencies	To include rent, travelling expenses, postage, hospital expenditure, and, generally, all payments chargeable upon the Extraordinaries not included in the foregoing articles.
I.	Ordnance Department	To include Imprests for payments under 5l. Draft for payments above 5l. viz. For pay and allowances of the department. Pay of the Royal Artillery. Building materials Barrack and other military stores not included in B. or C. Labour. Buildings erected, or repairs, performed under contract. Military working parties.
K.	Ordinaries	Including Regimental subsistence and half-yearly allowances. Staff Pay. Half Pay. Chelsea pensions. Greenwich pensions. Widow's pensions. Compassionate list. Other retired allowances not borne upon the Extraordinares.
L.	Pay of Commissariat Officers	To include only commissioned officers, and persons acting and receiving pay as such; storekeepers, issuers, and others employed in the Commissariat department, being

		included under letter E. The same distinction to be made with respect to the Account Branch when paid, as at Malta, &c. by pay list, and not by imprest: in that case the account current will show the amount of pay of the Commissariat officers under Letter L, thus: Store branch - Account branch - _____
M.	Advances to Departments	To include all advances repayable in England, except those to the Ordnance Department, which will be included under letter I.
N.	Consignments of Specie.	
O.		To be left open for any special disbursements (such as payments on account of colonial governments, &c.) as may not be chargeable to the Extraordinaries.

CREDIT SIDE

P.	Proceeds of Bills Drawn upon the Treasury	To be accompanied by separate statements of bills negotiated, and of bills drawn at par on account of supplies, or otherwise.
Q.	Stoppages for Rations	Issued to staff, Ordnance, and other departments.
R.	Proceeds of Sales	By the officers of the Commissariat department.
S.	Ditto	By the officers of the Ordnance department.
T.	Receipts for Services repayable in England, viz.	Regimental Surplusses, Effects of deceased officers and soldiers. Fees on commissions. Custom-house revenue. Post-office ditto. Greenwich Hospital ditto. &c. &c.

V. Consignments of Specie.

W. Miscellaneous Receipts — To include all receipts, of whatever description, not comprised under the preceding heads.

[N.B. - Any of the foregoing heads which may be inapplicable to the service of particular stations, may be left out altogether in the Accounts Current of the Commissariat Officers serving on such stations; but the Receipts and Expenditure, under the heads herein specified, should, in every case, be brought to account under the same marks that are annexed to them in this statement.]

APPENDIX B. ALCOHOL

1. Canteen Prices at LaPrairie, 29 July 1842.[1]

Beer - 4d. per quart
Beer - 1½d. per glass
Brandy - 2½d. per glass
Brandy - 1s3d. per pint
Whiskey - 1½d. per glass
Whiskey - 10d. per pint
Gin - 2d. per glass
Gin - 1s. per pint
Rum - 1½d. per glass
Rum - 10d. per pint
Port or Madeira - 2d. per glass, 1s. per pint or 1s8d. per bottle
Ginger Beer - 2½d. per bottle
Tea - 4s. per lb.
Coffee - 1s4d. per lb.
Sugar, brown - 5d. per lb.
Sugar, white - 9d. per lb.
Butter, salt - 10d. per lb.
Butter, fresh - 10d. per lb.
Cheese - 8d. per lb.
Salt - 1d. per lb.
Pepper - 1s. per lb.
Mustard - 1s8d per lb.

2. List of articles supplied to the canteen, 53rd Regiment at London, C.W., purchased in accordance with authority dated Montreal, 8 November 1866. Barrack Office, London, C.W., 22 January 1867.[2]

2 doz. wht delf plates
24 half pint glasses
6 decanters for syrup
2 doz. tea cups and saucers
2 doz. table knives
2 doz. steel forks
60 tin pint measures
1 half gallon tin measure
1 gallon tin measure
1 glass dramer
1 beer warmer, complete

1 set scales and weights
1 set platform for do.
1 set (5) of trays
1 funnel large
1 funnel small
1 butter knife
1 bread knife
1 cheese knife
1 tobacco cutter
1 ginger box large
1 ginger box small
1 pepper box large
1 pepper box small
1 pepper mill
1 meat chopper
60 tin quart measures
1 meat saw
6 lamps, coal oil
1 gallon oil can
1 pump for beer, 3 pull
96 feet piping for do.
1 feeder
1 hand lamp
1 coffee mill large
1 clock
1 nutmeg grater
1 cork screw
1 pair lamp scissors
2 ½ gill measures
2 doz. tea spoons
1 coffee pot
1 tea pot
1 frying pan
1 gimlet
1 butter spade
2 hand bells
1 meat safe

3. Comparison of the Canteen Stock List compiled by the War Office and the Canadian List.[3]

War Office List	Canadian List
Bar Stock	
London Porter, per quart	London Porter, per quart
Good Mild Ale, per quart	Good Mild Ale, per quart
Good Strong Ale, per quart	
Old Ale, per quart	
Double Brown Stout, per quart	
Pale Ale,	
do. in Imperial Quarts, 1 bottle	
do. do. pints	

Stout, in Imperial quarts	
do. do. pints	
Ginger Beer 2d.	Ginger Beer, per bottle
Soda Water, 3d.	Soda Water, per bottle
Lemonade, 3d.	Lemonade, per bottle
Grocery Stores	
Hams, cooked, per lb.	
do. uncooked, per lb.	Hams, uncooked, per lb.
Bacon, cooked, per lb.	
Bacon, uncooked, per lb.	Bacon, uncooked, per lb.
	Salt Pork, per lb.
Spiced Beef, per lb.	
Saveloys, each	
Polonies, each	
Black Puddings, each	
Fresh Butter, per lb.	Fresh Butter, per lb.
	Salt Butter, per lb.
	Lard, per lb.
Cheese (Cheshire and Gloucester) per lb.	
	Cheese, per lb.
Red Herrings, from ½d., ¾d., to 1d.	Red Herrings, per dozen
	Salt Herrings, per dozen
	Salt Cod Fish, per lb.
Candles, per lb.	
	Tallow Candles, per lb.
	Sperm Candles, per lb.
Mottled Soap, per lb.	Mottled Soap, per lb.
Yellow Soap, per lb.	Yellow Soap, English, per lb.
	Yellow Soap, Canada, per lb.
	Windsor Soap, per cake
Sweet Oil, on draught, per pint	Sweet Oil, per pint
Blacking, in boxes	Blacking, per box
do. cakes	Blacking, per cake
Brass Ball	Brass ball per box
Bath Brick, whole,	Bath Bricks, each
do. in pieces	
Black Lead, in packets,	Black Lead, packets
Pipe Clay, in lumps, ½d. and 1d.	Pipe Clay, per lb.
	Whiting, per lb.
Rotten Stone, per lb.	Rotten Stone, per lb.
Beeswax, per oz.	Beese [sic] wax per oz.
Congreve Matches, per box	Matches, per box
Emery Paper, per sheet	Emery Paper, per sheet
Sand Paper, per sheet	Sand Paper, per sheet
	Clothes Lines, each
	Corn Brooms, each
	Clothes Pins, per dozen
Black Pepper, per oz.	

White Pepper, per oz.

Mustard, per lb.
Vinegar, per quart
Ground Ginger, per lb.

Mixed Spice, per oz.

Salt, per lb.

Mixed Pickles, per gallon
Cabbage, per gallon
Bread, in ¼ quarterns, at the market-price, in loaves, each
Small loaves, made in loaves, at each

Biscuits
Flour, at market price
Oatmeal, per lb.

Rice, whole or ground, per lb.
Split Peas, per quart

Pearl Barley, per lb.

Cavendish Tobacco, per oz.

Negor, per oz.
Cut Cavendish, per oz.
Returns, per oz.
Birds' Eye, per oz.
Shag, per oz.
Foreign Cigars, each
British Cubas, each
British Cheroots, each
Pickwicks, each
Fancy Milos, each
Burns' Scotch Cutty, each
Dutch Cutty, each
Assorted French, each

Pepper, per oz.
Mustard, per lb.
Vinegar, per quart
Ground Ginger, per oz.
Carraway [sic] seeds, per oz.
Mixed Spice, per oz.
All other spices, per oz.

Coarse Salt, per lb.
Fine Salt, per lb.
Pickles, per bottle

White Bread, per lb.
Brown Bread, per lb.
Biscuits, per lb.
Flour, per lb.
Oatmeal, per lb.
Indian Meal, per lb.
Rice, per lb.

Peas, per quart

Pot Barley, per lb.
Corn Starch, per lb.
Arrow Root, per lb.
Baking Powder, per lb.
Sago, per lb.
Starch, per lb.
Washing Soda, per lb.
Blue, per oz.
Cavendish Tobacco, per oz.

Cut Tobacco, per oz.

Birds' Eye, per oz.
Shag, per oz.
Foreign Cigars, per dozen

	Long Pipes, each
	Short Pipes, each
Foolscap Paper, per sheet	Foolscap Paper, per sheet
Letter Paper, 3 sheets	Letter Paper, 3 sheets
Note Paper, 6 sheets	Note Paper, 6 sheets
Official Envelopes, each	
Private Envelopes, each	
	Envelopes, per dozen
Sealing Wax, per stick	Sealing Wax, per stick
Bottle of Ink	Ink in small bottles
	Steel Pens, per dozen
	Black Lead Pencils, each
	Slates, each
	Slate Pencils, per dozen
Black Tea, per lb.	Black Tea, per lb.
Black Tea, per oz.	
Superior Tea, per lb.	Superior Tea, per lb.
Superior Tea, per oz.	
Young Hyson, per lb.	Young Hyson, per lb.
Young Hyson, per oz.	
Gunpowder, per lb.	Gunpowder, per lb.
Gunpowder, per oz.	
Coffee, per lb.	Coffee, per lb.
A Cup of Tea, Coffee, Cocoa, or Chocolate Chicory, per lb.	
Loaf Sugar, per lb.	Loaf Sugar, per lb.
Common sugar, per lb.	
	Crushed Sugar, per lb.
	Brown Sugar, per lb.
Raisins, per lb.	Raisins, per lb.
Currants, per lb.	Currants, per lb.
Worsted Balls or Reels ½d. and 1d.	Worsted Balls, each
Cotton Balls and Reels, ½d. and 1d.	Cotton Balls and Reels, each
Black Thread, per skein	Black Thread, per skein
White Thread, per skein	White Thread, per skein
Blue Thread, per skein	Blue Thread, per skein
Red Thread, per skein	Red Thread, per skein
Shirt Buttons, per doz.	Shirt Buttons, per doz.
Darning Needles, per doz.	Darning Needles, per doz.
Sewing Needles, per doz.	Sewing Needles, per doz.
Tailors' Needles, per doz.	Tailors' Needles, per doz.
Pins, Coat, per doz.	Pins, Coat, per doz.
Pins, Mixed Small, per doz.	
Pins, Mixed Small, on paper, 8 rows	
	Pins, per box
	Pins, per paper
Silk Laces, each	Silk Laces, each
Stay Laces, each	Stay Laces, each
Leather Laces, each	Leather Laces, each

	Thimbles, each
	Combs, Dressing, each
White Tape, per piece	White Tape, per piece
Black Tape, per piece	Black Tape, per piece
Twine Balls, each ½d. and 1d.	Twine Balls, each
Tennis Balls, each	
Steel Tobacco Boxes	
Brass Tobacco Boxes	
	Hooks and Eyes, per doz.
Peppermint Lozenges, per oz.	Peppermint Lozenges, per oz.
Acidulated Lozenges, per oz.	Acidulated Lozenges, per oz.
Ginger Lozenges, per oz.	Ginger Lozenges, per oz.
Various Lozenges, per oz.	Various Lozenges, per oz.
	Plates, each
Vegetables	
	Potatoes, per peck
	Carrots, per peck
	Turnips, per peck
	Onions, per peck
	Cabbages, each
Vegetables and Milk at lowest possible prices.	

4. Specialty Foods and Goods sold in Canteen, 97th Regiment, Halifax, between 1876 and 1880.[4]

1 lb. tins marmalade
1 lb. tins raspberry jam
1 lb. tins strawberry jam
1 lb. tins apricot jam
1 lb. tins gooseberry jam
1 lb. tins black currant jam
1 lb. tins red currant jam
1 lb. tins greengage jam
1 lb. tins damson jam
Mixed Pickles
Onion Pickles
Chow Chow Pickles
Cauliflower Pickles
Walnut Pickles
Red Cabbage Pickles
Picadilly Pickles
½ pts. Chutney Sauce
½ pts. Mushroom Sauce
Worcester Sauce
Harveys Sauce

Ketchup Sauce
Walnut Sauce
Readings Sauce
2 lb. tins Albert Biscuits
4½ lb. tins Macaroons
Ratafias Biscuits
Captains Oval Third Biscuits
4½ lb. tins Mixed Biscuits - 20 kinds
4½ lb. tins Water Biscuits
4½ lbs. tins Arrowroot Biscuits
Mackenzie's and Albert's Biscuits
¼ lb. tins Sardines
2 lb. tins Herrings
1 lb. tins fresh Herrings
12 in a tin Red Herrings
Potted Ham
Potted Tongue
Oxford Sausage
2 lb. tins Preserved Ginger
7 lb. tins Ground Black Pepper
7 lb. tins Curry
7 lb. tins Mustard
7 lb. tins Candied Peel
1 lb. Grois Pois
Green Peas
Champignons
Truffles (bottled)
French Capers
½ lb. tins Pate de Fois Gras Truffled
tins Pate de Fois Gras
¼ lb. tins Caviare [sic]
1 lb. tins Cod Roes
2 lb. Brussel Sprouts
2 lb. French Beans
pts. Spanish Olives
2 oz. Castors Nepaul [sic] Pepper
half chest Canjon [sic] tea (Twinings)
chest " " "
½ oz. Essences
Spice
½ pts. Salad Oil
pints Salad Oil
quarts Salad Oil
½ lb. bottles Sherbet
Chlorodyne
Saline
Castor Oil
Scented Soap
Fancy Soap
Harris' Harness Composition
House Flannel for cleaning
pouch Blacking
½ pts. John Bull

APPENDIX C. DESERTION

This appendix will attempt to analyze desertion during the period 1815 to 1865, using the official British reports as a base. Each month the senior officer in each command reported to the commander-in-chief the number of men present and fit for duty, the arrivals and departures, the deaths and desertions. The returns exist, with five exceptions, for every month from 1815 to 1865 in the two major commands, Canada and Nova Scotia, and the Nova Scotian subsidiary command, Newfoundland. It is, therefore, possible to calculate the number of rank and file in each command during a year and the number of desertions in the same command during the same period. Since the establishment (the number of men in a command in one year, calculated as a monthly average) varies considerably depending on the military situation, peace or alert, the number of desertions should only be considered as a percentage of the establishment. That is, if the number of desertions was high in a year when the establishment was large, it does not look extraordinary when it is expressed as a percentage of the establishment, but a high number of desertions in a year when the establishment was small does become notable when one calculates the percentage. Table 1 shows the establishment, the total number of desertions and the desertions expressed as a percentage of the establishment for all three commands. It must be noted that the figures in Table 1 do not include officers; they document only the desertion from the rank and file.

How accurate are these returns? The reporting officer knew that certain portions of the return had to tally with returns available to the Horse Guards and War Office from other sources. The number of arrivals and departures in a command had to agree with the number of men dispatched from or received into that command, while the number of deaths could be checked against the medical records of the station. The paymaster general was apt to become suspicious if the figures in the monthly returns did not agree with the wages paid by his subordinates. In fact, if an error was made in a report, it was usually acknowledged several months later when the reporting officer discovered that he had counted a man in transit between two garrisons as present at both of them.

It was, however, still possible for a commanding officer to attempt to cover up an abnormal number of

desertions from his command by reporting some men as "absent without leave and supposed to have deserted."[1] Beginning in January 1848 this becomes a permanent postscript in the Canada command reports. The men were officially reported as present, but were footnoted as AWOL. According to the General Regulations for 1859,

> Deserters are not to be struck off the strength until the fact of their desertion shall have been sworn to before a regimental court of inquiry at the expiration of two months ... but are to be inserted as "absent without leaves," although they may have been reported to the War Office as deserters at the time of their absenting themselves.[2]

It is possible that this regulation was 12 years old and that the Canada command had adopted the procedure of reporting men as AWOL until the two months had passed and they could be acknowledged as deserters. Using this logic the men reported as AWOL in January would be reported as deserters in March, making a small allowance for men who returned to their regiments during the two-month interval. Unfortunately there does not seem to be any correlation whatsoever between the AWOL column and the "deserted" column. Sometimes the number of desertions were significantly less and often substantially more than the number of men AWOL two months before.[3] In the Canada command, it seems that the "deserted" column was used to record men who were known positively to have deserted, while the AWOL column recorded men suspected of desertion. The AWOL column was never transferred to the "deserted" column; to determine the total number of deserters the two columns must be added together.

This essential assumption, that the two columns must be taken together to discover how many men actually deserted, can be checked in another manner. Using only the desertion column, the desertion rate for the Canada command during the American Civil War would be significantly lower than during any other five-year period between 1815 and 1865.[4] But this result does not explain the proliferation of official reports on the subject during the Civil War, as noted by Robin Winks; nor does it explain the attention Winks and others have given to the subject.[5] The only way to achieve an exceptional desertion rate in the Canada command during this period is to add the two columns together. Since it is impossible to ignore the weight of British army correspondence and Canadian political ocrrespondence on desertion at this time, it is assumed for the purposes of this discussion that the true desertion rate is the sum of the number of men reported absent and those reported deserted. All calculations in Table 1 for the period after 1848 are based on this assumption.

Finally, it should be noted that each senior officer in

a command would have had to account for all his men, present or absent, before he turned over his office to his successor. It might be possible, therefore, for a commanding officer to delay reporting some deserters, hoping to recover them before he left, but by the end of his period in office he would have to report those who had completely eluded his grasp.

Hence it is possible that the monthly returns are not absolutely correct. But given the prevalence of red tape in the British military structure, they cannot have deviated by very much, and they do reflect the trends, the periods of high and low desertion rates.

Such trends in desertion do illustrate certain basic features of the British garrisons in North America, such as the isolation of the various commands. The desertion rate has no correlation from one command to another, with the exception of a five-year period in the 1850s when the rate rose in all three commands. Apparently some of the factors which influenced the rate were specific to the command itself. Therefore each command must be analyzed separately in order to determine which causes affected its garrison.

The desertion rate in Newfoundland, the geographically most isolated command, appears to be particularly erratic. The garrison in Newfoundland was, however, very small; it usually numbered about 300 men, so that the defection of only a few more soldiers in any year increased the desertion rate by several percentage points. Hence the fluctuations in the desertion rate for this command are not necessarily a reflection of a new influence appearing suddenly in St. John's.

Generally, the desertion rate in Newfoundland was lower than those of the other two commands, a trend which was probably influenced by three factors peculiar to the island. First, Newfoundland is an island; to desert with any chance of eluding capture, a soldier had to stow away. It was almost impossible for a man with no capital and no experience in self-reliance to flee into the undeveloped hinterland of Newfoundland. Since most deserters escaped by sea to the mainland, the harbour in St. John's was usually patrolled by the military police. Their job was made easier by the second factor: Newfoundland's garrison was small and almost permanent. The men and officers knew each other so well that it was often difficult to find the privacy and secrecy essential for planning a desertion. Finally, there was the nature of Newfoundland's garrison. After November 1824 the defence of the island was maintained by the Royal Newfoundland Companies, a veteran unit of Chelsea Hospital outpatients. These were older men who had already proved their loyalty to the crown and were considered worthy of a stipend.[6] For the first eight years in which these veterans garrisoned St. John's, the desertion rate remained below one per cent, confirming the trust many British officers had in the loyalty of long-service soldiers.[7]

These disciplinary advantages - isolation, the size of the garrison and a special unit - were not present in the other two commands. The Nova Scotia command did benefit partially from the first of the factors mentioned above. The two islands, Cape Breton and Prince Edward, were part of this command, administered from Halifax. But desertion was a serious problem in both islands. As one commanding officer wrote about the situation in Charlottetown, "at the opening of the [summer] season, in each year, this Crime appears to prevail most."[8] The inhabitants of the island - including its magistrates - were frequently accused of encouraging or harbouring deserters to help with the farm harvest.[9] Unlike Newfoundland, therefore, Prince Edward Island offered work and subsistence to soldiers until they slipped across to the mainland, which was much closer. This proximity to the Nova Scotian peninsula was presumably a factor encouraging the men stationed at Sydney to desert.

The Nova Scotian command also included New Brunswick, with garrisons stationed at Saint John, Fredericton, St. Andrews and Woodstock. St. Andrews is on the border with the United States, while Woodstock is only 12 miles from the border. Because of the proximity to freedom at these two posts, and the number of boats which sailed daily from Saint John to New England,[10] desertion from New Brunswick was always a problem. In Nova Scotia itself, the major garrison was at Halifax. One thousand men were stationed in an extremely busy seaport.

The desertion rate for the Nova Scotian command began to fall off after the War of 1812 and did not begin to rise again until 1830. The war had probably aroused sentiments of loyalty to Britain, pride in its armed forces, and hatred for the United States. This emotional state persisted for a decade, but when the Royal Engineers began building the Halifax Citadel in 1828, such feelings were supplanted by distaste for the increased fatigue duty assigned and the tedium of army life. Desertion increased, and hit one high point in 1849 when California gold rush fever infected the troops.[11]

Desertion rose to its peak in the Nova Scotian command between 1853 and 1858. The establishment was slightly smaller as regiments were transferred to the Crimea, and discouragement, even depression, probably increased as word of the military, medical and supply disasters spread throughout the garrison.

Coincidentally, this was also the period when the general officer commanding in Nova Scotia was a martinet. Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant tried to build up a reputation to equal his famous father's by imposing his will upon the army. As H. Manners Chichester so politely described his methods, he introduced "a most elaborate system of interior economy" for the regiments. The result was conflict with

everyone - townspeople, officers and soldiers. Because Le Marchant sanctioned a devious scheme to catch one man who was helping deserters, the court reduced the prisoner's sentence significantly. Normally the Nova Scotian press and public disapproved of deserters and anyone who abetted them.[12]

After Le Marchant left, the desertion rate fell. It hit one of its low points during the American Civil War, in marked contrast to the increase in desertion in the Canadas. Why did the maritime command react differently during this crisis? Were there more southern sympathizers in Halifax hampering Union recruiting agents? Did the Trent and Chesapeake affairs create more revulsion against the Union government in a maritime command than they did inland, where safety on the sea was not an immediate concern? These are only hypotheses, impossible to document conclusively, but they may be the explanation for the divergence between the desertion rates in Nova Scotia and Canada at this time.

Canada and Nova Scotia never did have identical desertion rates. With the exception of the decade after the rebellions of 1837, Canada's desertion rate was always significantly higher simply because it was easier to desert there. Along the Richelieu Valley soldiers could walk across the border, while elsewhere it was possible to swim or row across in summer and (occasionally) to walk across the ice in winter. With all these possible means of escape, it is not surprising that the desertion rate in the Canadas was usually two or three per cent higher than it was in Nova Scotia. Nevertheless, the Canada command began the period under consideration reacting like Nova Scotia: the desertion rate began to fall after the War of 1812 and rose again in 1832, when the feelings of excitement, tension and loyalty, combined with hatred for the United States, had all dissipated. Is there, perhaps, a coincidence between the increase in desertions in 1832 and the cholera epidemic of the same year? E.R. Wetherall, Deputy Adjutant General, conjectured that there was a cause-and-effect relationship between cholera and desertion. He noted that "all Regiments were confined to their Barracks to avoid infection. Soldiers either to avoid the disease or the consequent irksome confinement may have deserted anticipating a recurrence of the system in 1833." Ironically the cholera mortality figures for the army were much lower than for the general population because of the isolation of the garrisons.[13] Wetherall also pointed to the influx of "commuted Pensioners in the most miserable state of destitution" as a cause of desertion in 1832-33. He felt that younger soldiers decided that they would be reduced to the condition of these pensioners if they stayed in the army.[14]

When the 1837 rebellions broke out, the troops were put on military alert for several years, and the desertion rate

fell. Apparently the excitement and activity reduced the inclination to desert, as it had before. According to Wetherall this decline in desertion was maintained by several improvements made by the army administration, including the establishment of the winter clothing fund. Wetherall also pointed to the establishment of libraries for soldiers in 1840 as an aid in preventing desertion.[15] It seemed that libraries provided recreational facilities for the soldiers, while the new savings banks gave the men an opportunity to plan for the future.

The other deterrents which Wetherall mentioned as operating between 1837 and 1844 were the new good-conduct warrants (medals and additional pay), the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment and the newly instituted opportunity to purchase one's discharge. He also felt that the Provincial Cavalry, which had been mobilized because of the rebellion, had made it more difficult for men to wander unnoticed in the region between Montreal and the border.[16]

The desertion rate began to rise again in 1848, and peaked briefly before the Crimean War. This rise was concurrent with the news of the California gold rush, which may have attracted some men across the border. But the major desertion crisis in the Canadas did not occur until 1853-57. The soldiers stationed along the St. Lawrence reacted like their colleagues in Nova Scotia: they went missing. Maybe the men were appalled by the administrative disaster which befell the British forces at Balaclava and were terrified that a calamity of equal proportions could affect them. Maybe they were jealous because they were not part of the fighting force, or afraid that their lives would be wasted with the others beside the Black Sea. Soldiers had been known to desert from the army in North America rather than serve in dangerous climates or locales. Troops under orders to sail from Canada to the West Indies usually had a sharp increase in the number of desertions.[17]

The desertion rate fell off again slightly until after the American Conscription Act of 3 March 1863. As Yankees found themselves forced to serve or to provide substitutes, the search for recruits intensified in the Canadas, and the number of desertions increased significantly in 1864 (see, "Desertion: That Disgraceful Crime").

Table 1. The establishment rate, the number of desertions,and the desertion rate in Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland commands.

	Canada			Nova Scotia			Newfoundland		
Year	Establishment	Desertion	%	Establishment	Desertion	%	Establishment	Desertion	%
1815	17266.58	1061	6.14	5946.58	252	4.24	711.91	48	6.74
1816	7300.17	395	5.41	3396.33	171	5.04	421.5	11	2.61
1817	4628.83	180	3.89	3430.08	163	4.75	341.83	8	2.34
1818	4023.92	226	5.62	2537.83	77	3.03	302.42	1	.33
1819	3805.92	183	4.81	2162.58	78	3.60	283.25	3	1.06
1820	3371.75	199	5.90	2098.17	14	3.53	239.08	3	1.25
1821	3334.92	170	5.10	2141	71	3.32	239.92	3	1.25
1822	3304.5	124	3.75	2192.75	66	3.01	254.67	2	.79
1823	3110.67	141	4.53	2090.58	32	1.53	264.92	1	.38
1824	3149.75	159	5.05	2109.67	37	1.75	313.83	10	3.19
1825	2916.66	172	5.90	2329.08	50	2.15	366	1	.27
1826	2930.25	114	3.89	2297.92	22	.96	348.5		
1827	3214.83	150	4.67	2328.33	22	.94	373	1	.27
1828	3258.42	187	5.74	2249.75	46	2.04	408.58		
1829	3228.67	109	3.38	2406.17	34	1.41	345.5	2	.58
1830	3354	148	4.41	2543.75	84	3.30	325.75	3	.92
1831	3308.73	149	4.50	2604.82	66	2.53	303.45	1	.33
1832	2939.42	182	6.19	2423.25	84	3.47	282.17	1	.35
1833	2671.67	327	12.24	2038.42	82	4.02	294.5	5	1.70
1834	2588.92	206	7.96	2034.08	56	2.75	298.25	9	3.02
1835	2601.08	231	8.88	2259.83	101	4.47	318.42	7	2.20
1836	2452.58	251	10.24	2210.58	76	3.44	339.08	20	5.90
1837	2564.25	138	5.38	1966	31	1.58	359.64	24	6.67
1838	6696.42	262	3.91	1997.42	96	4.81	362.17	11	3.04
1839	10598.83	283	2.67	2590	105	4.05	344.08	6	1.74
1840	11705.17	298	2.55	3147.83	161	5.12	364.25	17	4.67
1841	12293.83	290	2.36	3394.33	173	5.10	381.08	11	2.89
1842	12029.08	306	2.54	3162.08	131	4.14	378.5	2	.53
1843	9692.83	276	2.85	2792.67	128	4.58	376.92	11	2.92
1844	7717.92	191	2.48	2527.92	89	3.52	378.58	4	1.06
1845	7348.75	259	3.42	2528.17	87	3.44	393.17	18	4.58
1846	7148.58	176	2.46	2575.58	80	3.11	384.75	18	4.68
1847	6784.83	206	3.04	2310.42	61	2.46	379.33	2	.53
1848	6131.75	426	6.95	2446.25	82	3.35	388.08	2	.52
1849	6086.42	518	8.51	2576.08	125	4.85	392.5	5	1.27
1850	6026.92	533	8.84	2495.25	111	4.45	411.92	7	1.70
1851	5879.67	398	6.71	2524.92	73	2.89	405.33	3	.74
1852	5200.42	354	6.81	2128.42	63	2.96	361.83	3	.83
1853	4036.50	375	9.29	1889.58	137	7.25	313.5	9	2.87
1854	2914.58	528	18.12	1760.17	195	11.07	318.42	17	5.34
1855	1746.17	284	16.27	1348.08	99	7.34	251.5	9	3.58
1856	2776.08	277	9.98	2060.17	75	3.64	218.83	4	1.83
1857	3381.58	955	28.25	2622.42	229	8.73	217.92	8	3.67
1858	2757.42	171	6.20	2042.83	100	4.89	211.33	21	9.94
1859	2782.50	169	6.07	2007.67	46	2.29	209.33	6	3.82
1860	2171.25	97	4.46	1983.25	80	4.03	216.50	8	2.77
1861	3309.58	163	4.93	1922.17	26	1.35	270.92	8	2.95
1862	10999.58	429	3.90	3875.83	66	1.70	280.75	4	1.42
1863	11195.42	431	3.85	3968.08	31	.78	343.75	4	1.16
1864	9946.67	831	8.35	4417	53	1.20	304.58	9	2.95
1865	8166	432	5.29	4124.67	73	1.77	305.58	3	1.31

Table 2. Comparison of regimental desertion rates[18]

Year	Royal Regt.		15th Regt.*		24th Regt.		32nd Regt.		83rd Regt.	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
1837	10	465.25	19	376.91	47	386.58	44	396.16	10	439.40
1838	3	497.41	37	494.08	14	490.66	17	475.41	52	495.58
1839	5	591.91	15	565.75	18	576.83	8	538.08	38	549.16
1840	10	593.91*	1	552.33	23	601	5	558.50	21	560.16

A = Desertions
B = Establishment (monthly average)

Table 3. "Return showing the Number of Desertions ... to this date ... 11 June 1858"[19]

Station	Kingston 9th Foot	Quebec 16th Foot	Montreal 39th Foot	Totals	%
Corps					
Deserted					
Sergeants	1		1	2	
Corporals	3	1	1	5	
Drummers		4		4	
Privates	132	84	64	280	
Apprehended					
Sergeants	1			1	.34
Corporals					
Drummers					
Privates	24	3	13	40	13.75
Surrendered					
Sergeants					
Corporals					
Drummers					
Privates	1		3	4	1.37
Actual Loss					
Sergeants			1	1	.34
Corporals	3	1	1	5	1.72
Drummers		4		4	1.37
Privates	107	81	48	236	81.30
Date of arrival	12 June, 1856	6 Nov. 1854	26 June, 1856		

Table 4. "Stations from which desertions have taken place, Montreal, 12 June 1957"[20]

Station	1844		1845		1846		1847		1848		1849	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Montreal	27	1392.58	36	1283.17	16	1269.92	24	1254	15	1190.25	40	1269.25
Kingston	31	857.17	43	829	96	871.17	70	854.83	63	925.58	57	928.25
Toronto	25	319.08	37	308.75	15	301.25	11	329.75	20	516.83	38	451.50
Quebec	32	1375.58	7	1245.17	31	1089.83	22	1123	24	1158.17	16	1172.92
London	24	603	28	596.67	10	551	13	562.75	37	560.58	45	542.42
St. Johns (C.E.)	6	560.75	39	506.33	8	394.58	16	376	23	274.42	21	235.17
Chambly	22	363.58	15	391.25	8	412.58	6	279.25	-	75.92	6	70.75
Niagara	2	214.67	7	214.25	2	246.67	3	260.42	2	245.58	5	251.83
Amherstburg	4	286.67	3	257.92	2	246.58	7	230.50	-	107.08	-	101.92
Isle aux Noix	-	201.50	-	132.25	2	151.25	2	148.42	1	161.83	2	151.17
Totals	173	6174.58	215	5764.76	190	5534.83	174	5418.92	185	5216.24	230	5175.18
% of desertions	2.80		3.73		3.43		3.21		3.55		4.44	

Station	1850		1851		1852		1853		1854		1855	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Montreal	8	1153.75	13	1066.33	7	1046.17	21	875.25	-	523.67	-	234.17
Kingston	77	976.42	35	1040.17	24	944.08	53	836.17	63	676.42	8	374.83
Toronto	4	569.75	37	522.17	30	347.08	10	235.75	-	157.58	-	16.58
Quebec	86	1199.50	25	1247.08	48	1205.08	19	1112.50	89	1032.83	71	858.33
London	24	457.17	10	531.58	21	398.58	21	238.10	-	--	-	--
St. Johns (C.E.)	4	205.50	10	160.17	1	125	4	53.17	-	3	-	--
Chambly	11	61.75	-	51.33	1	31.92	-	3.08	-	3	-	--
Niagara	11	234.08	1	244.17	6	243.75	1	130.17	-	60.42	-	24.18
Amherstburg	1	98.25	-	82.43	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Isle aux Noix	-	128.92	1	103.92	-	99.50	-	88.33	-	65.58	-	25.50
Totals	226	5085.09	132	5049.35	138	4441.16	129	3572.52	152	2522.50	79	1533.59
% of desertions	4.44		2.61		3.11		3.61		6.03		5.15	

Station	1856		1857		Total	% of
	A	B	A	B	desertions	desertions
Montreal	20	535.50	66	683.75	293	12.10
Kingston	37	531.08	136	624.58	793	32.74
Toronto	-	186.67	22	196.08	249	10.28
Quebec	29	1157.75	89	1333.50	588	24.28
London	-	--	-	--	233	9.62
St. Johns (C.E.)	-	114	-	114.91	132	5.45
Chambly	-	--	-	--	69	2.85
Niagara	-	25.40	-	24.67	40	1.65
Amherstburg	-	--	-	--	17	.70
Isle aux Noix	-	28.25	-	27.70	8	.33
Total	86	2578.65	313	3005.19	2422	100.00
% of desertions	3.34		10.42			

A = Desertions; B = Establishment (monthly average).

Table 5. "Comparative statement of desertions which have taken place ...," 1840-1857[21]

Year	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847
Sergeants	2	1	-	5	1	3	1	3
Drummers	5	2	2	6	3	4	6	2
Rank & File	238	286	305	295	192	246	236	204
Total	245	289	307	306	196	253	243	209
Average strength of force	11,705	12,293	12,031	9,695	7,718	7,349	7,149	6,866
Proportion deserted	1 in 47	1 in 42	1 in 39	1 in 32	1 in 39	1 in 29	1 in 29	1 in 32
Recovered	-	-	-	-	65	75	53	37
Tried	-	-	-	-	65	75	53	37
Previous conviction	-	-	-	-	7	8	9	10
Transported	48	43	32	17	12	19	30	10
Imprisoned	-	-	-	-	53	56	40	27
Branded "D"	-	-	-	-	50	58	33	26
Percentage deserted	2.12	2.38	2.56	3.12	2.56	3.44	3.44	3.12

Year	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854
Sergeants	1	1	4	2	2	-	2
Drummers	4	4	6	2	3	2	4
Rank & File	188	232	237	134	136	128	164
Total	193	237	247	138	141	130	170
Average strength of force	6,132	6,063	6,027	5,879	5,200	4,025	3,204
Proportion deserted	1 in 32	1 in 26	1 in 24	1 in 49	1 in 37	1 in 31	1 in 19
Recovered	60	51	69	-	-	-	-
Tried	60	51	69	19	15	15	12
Previous conviction	11	9	2	-	-	-	-
Transported	18	6	12	10	11	11	12
Imprisoned	42	45	57	15	4	4	2
Branded "D"	40	33	46	16	13	12	7
Percentage deserted	3	3.84	4.16	2.04	2.70	3.22	5.26

Year	1855	1856	1857
Sergeants	-	1	2
Drummers	4	3	4
Rank & File	79	82	328
Total	83	86	334
Average strength of force	1,837	1,537	3,869
Proportion deserted	1 in 22	1 in 17	1 in 11
Recovered	-	-	-
Tried	18	4	2
Previous conviction	-	-	-
Transported	13	5	2
Imprisoned	5	2	-
Branded "D"	8	3	2
Percentage deserted	4.54	5.88	9.09

Table 6. "Returns showing the length of service of deserters in the 9th and 39th Regiments who fled between 1 August 1857 and 12 September 1857"[22]

Length of service (in years)	9th	39th*	Total
1	13	8	21
2	24	20	44
3	14	24	38
4	5	7	12
5	4	16	20
6	1	-	1
7	5	1	6
8	-	2	2
9	1	4	5
10	5	3	8
more than 10	1	4	5
	43	89	162

*to 14 Sept. 1857.

Table 7. Comparison of monthly desertion rates[23]

Regiment	Year	Average monthly establishment	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	Total
Royal	1837	465.25	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	2	3	-	10
	1838	497.41	3	-	-	-	-	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	13
	1839	591.91	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	5
	1840	593.91	-	-	-	2	3	-	3	1	-	-	-	1	10
15th	1837	376.91	-	-	-	-	8	9	-	-	-	1	1	-	19
(departed	1838	494.08	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	7	18	-	-	37
July 1840)	1839	565.75	-	7	1	1	-	2	1	1	1	1	-	-	15
	1840	552.33	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
24th	1837	386.58	-	6	1	2	6	3	6	7	5	4	7	-	47
	1838	490.66	-	6	-	-	4	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	14
	1839	576.83	-	1	3	1	-	2	3	2	1	1	3	1	18
	1840	601.10	-	2	1	-	1	-	4	2	8	5	-	-	23
32nd	1837	396.16	-	-	7	6	-	-	3	7	7	8	5	1	44
	1838	475.41	-	-	6	3	2	1	-	-	1	3	1	-	17
	1839	538.08	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	8
	1840	555.50	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	5
83rd	1837	439.40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	4	-	10
(arrived	1838	495.58	-	-	-	1	4	17	12	9	9	-	-	-	52
July 1837	1839	549.16	-	5	-	4	8	4	2	4	7	-	2	2	38
	1840	560.16	5	7	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	2	-	2	21
Totals			9	36	22	21	39	46	43	51	57	49	27	7	407

APPENDIX D. DISCIPLINE.

1 List of Military Crimes as Defined by the Articles of War[1]

Divine Worship

1 Christian Faith
2 Attending Divine Service, etc.
3 Profanation
4 Chaplain, Absence of
5 --- Misconduct of

Crimes punishable with Death, Transportation, etc.

6 Mutiny
7 Desertion
8 Relieving the Enemy
9 Cowardice
10 Search for Plunder
11 Violence to Superior
12 Disobedience
13 Violence to Bringer of Provisions, forcing a Safeguard
14 Betraying Watchword
15 Giving False Alarms
16 Casting away Arms, etc.
17 Quitting or sleeping on Post
18 Embezzlement

Crime not punishable with Death or Transportation

19 Traitorous Words, Royal Family
20 Persuading to desert; entertaining and not reporting a Deserter
21 Drunk on Duty
22 Breaking Arrest
23 Unauthorized Flag of Truce
24 Giving a different Watchword
25 Spreading false Reports in the Field
26 Creating unnecessary Alarms
27 Improper Disclosures
28 Quitting Ranks without Orders
29 Leaving Party, becoming Prisoner by Neglect
30 Seizing Supplies for the Army
31 Scandalous Behaviour
32 Conniving at, or exacting Toll from Suttlers
33 Refusing Assistance to Civil Magistrates
34 Refusing Assistance to Provost Marshal and other Officers

35 Disobeying Orders in Cases of Fray
36 Billeting
37 Protecting from Creditors

Crimes punishable with Loss of Pay, or of Pay and Pension, in addition to other Punishments
38 Forfeiture of Pay and Pension for Desertion
39 Malingering, etc.
40 Self Mutilation
41 Tampering with Eye-sight
42 Stealing from a Comrade or Military Officer
43 False or wilful Omission in making Returns
44 False Musters
45 False Certificates on Discharge, etc.
46 False Description Books and Records
47 False Store Returns
48 Evading Orders of His Majesty
49 Petty Offences
50 Disgraceful Conduct
51 Habitual Drunkenness
52 Lying out of Quarters
53 Being Drunk

Crimes not punishable with Forfeiture of Pay and Pension, except by General Court-martial
54 Disrespect to Commander in Chief
55 Signing Returns, etc. in Blank
56 Allowing Escape of Prisoner
57 Not reporting a Prisoner
58 Neglecting Orders on Duty
59 Unnecessary Detention of Prisoner
60 Duelling
61 Hiring, or conniving at hiring for Duty
62 Absenting himself from Parade
63 Giving false Alarms at Home
64 Not clearing Quarters
65 Neglecting Reparation to Landlords
66 Overloading Carriages, Ill-treatment of Waggoners, and refusing Certificates
67 Selling, losing, or spoiling Arms, ill-treating Horse, etc.
68 Malicious Destruction of Property, etc.
69 Striking or ill-treating Soldier
70 Crimes not specified

2 Courts Martial in Upper Canada, 1838-40[2]

Courts-Martial	1838	1839	1840
Mutiny	1	1	

Desertion	30	56	46
Violence to superiors and insubordination	11	34	26
Disobedience	4	10	16
Quitting post or sleeping on duty	4	18	10
Drunk on duty under arms	54	90	36
Disgraceful conduct	25	58	45
Absence without leave	25	61	44
Making away with necessaries	23	78	60
Habitual drunkenness	112	280	280
Miscellaneous	69	163	119
Deserters			
Attempted	166	247	174
Apprehended and court-martialed	30	56	46
Successful	136	191	128

3 Scale of Punishment for Minor Offences in the 24th Regiment.[3]

for every 5 minutes late for parade	one drill
not shewing himself for one hour after	3 drills
missing till next roll call	bill'd* three days
in bad order	bill'd till in goodd order
clothing, appointments, etc. dirty or in bad order	one drill for each article, if they do not exceed two; if so, to be considere in bad order and bill'd as above.
Unsteady or inattentive in the ranks	from one to three drills
having been drinking too freely before parade	bill'd 3 days
in liquor at parade	bill'd 7 days
black eyes, if from fighting	bill'd till well, if the aggressor 3 days after
black eyes, if from accident	remain in barracks till well
fighting in barracks	bill'd 3 days (both parties)
smoaking [sic] in the streets	3 drills
making any nuisance in barracks	made clean it, and bill'd from 1 to 3 days

*"Bill'd" is an abbreviation for billeted, or confined to Barracks.

leaving things out of their knapsacks or rolling them up in their beds	one drill for each article, if they do not exceed 3, if so, from 1 to 3 days bill'd
missing drill	three extra drills
equivocations or telling a lie	bill'd from one to seven days
swearing or profane language	bill'd from one to three days
five minutes late for roll call	one drill
ten minutes late for roll call	2 drills
for every 15 minutes late for roll call	bill'd one day
gambling	bill'd from 3 to 7 days
talking, laughing, or giving a reply in the ranks	from 1 drill to 3 days bill'd
cleaning, or dusting clothing in barracks	from one to three drills
going to an officer, without a non comd officer	from one to 3 days bill'd
parading for guard, or drill in marching order, without their necessaries	one drill for each article if above; from 1 to 3 days bill'd
shewing necessaries not their own, or not marked, at an inspection	bill'd from 3 to 7 days

All crimes of a more serious nature, as well as all offences committed on duty, are to be reported to the Commanding Officer; and every report is to be made in writing, the officer who settles it, affixing the Punishment with his initials opposite the offence.

No Reports to be settled, or Punishments awarded, except by the Captains or Officers Commanding Companies.

Any Punishment exceeding 3 drills or 1 day's Bill'd will be inserted in the Company's Defaulter's Book and all inattention or irregularity on the part of Non Commissioned Officers to be made known to the Commanding Officer altho settled by the Captain or Officers Commanding Companies.

4 "Return Shewing the accommodation for the confinement of Prisoners at the several Garrison and Barrack Cells in Canada -- Montreal 1 April 1854"[4]

Station	No. of Cells	Remarks
Saint John's	6	
Isle Aux Noix	4	
Sorel	2	
Chambly	3	
Kingston	8	
Fort Henry	4	2 of these are not fit for occupation
Toronto	7	3 of these cells are not fit for occupation beyond 48 hours. There is an associate ward at this station adopted for 8 prisoners.
London	10	There is an associated ward at this station adopted for 12 prisoners.
Niagara	5	Not fit for the confinement of prisoners.
Bytown	3	
Amherstburg	4	

5 Regulations Governing the Use of Military Cells[5]

RULES AND REGULATIONS

To Be Observed on The Occupation of Cells of Approved Construction, Situated in a Garrison or Barrack

1.- The Garrison or Barracks Cells are applicable for the confinement of Soldiers by authority of the Commanding Officer, for any period within the limits prescribed by the Regulations in force for the time being, as well as for carrying into effect the Sentences of Imprisonment by Courts Martial, for periods not exceeding twenty-eight days.

2.- Imprisonment in the Cells may be either solitary or mixed; - in the former case, the Prisoner is not to leave his Cell, except for the purpose of having such air and

exercise, as, in the opinion of the Medical Officer, may be deemed necessary for his health. In the latter case, when Imprisonment, with Hard Labour is awarded, Drill in Marching Order, will, in consequence of the difficulty of supplying any other description of labour, generally be the only means of carrying the punishment into effect. The periods of Drill, however, are not to exceed in frequency, or duration, those allowed by the Regulations of the Army.

3.- For any irregularities, or minor breaches of discipline, while under confinement, that may be reported to them, the Commanding Officer of the Garrison, or Commanding Officers of Corps, may, by a written direction to the Provost Serjeant, order the diet of a Prisoner to be reduced, or that a Prisoner be placed on Bread and Water for any period not exceeding seventy-two hours; and, likewise, that he may be deprived, for a like period, of his Bedding. The Provost Serjeant will take care, that, in all cases, the Offences, as well as the nature and extent of the Punishment awarded, are recorded in the Prison Defaulters' Book; and that a copy of this entry be furnished, on the Prisoner's release, to his Commanding Officer, for the purpose of being entered in the Regimental Defaulter's Book.

4.- The Cells will be inspected, and each Prisoner visited daily, by an Orderly Officer of the Garrison, and by a Medical Officer, who is to be named periodically in orders for that special duty. A special Report of such Inspection to be made, by the Orderly Officer, to the Officer commanding the Garrison, in the prescribed form.

5.- When it may become necessary to imprison Soldiers of Corps stationed at a distance, in the Cells of a Barrack occupied by any particular Regiment, such Soldiers are to be attached to, and subsisted by such Regiment, while they are undergoing confinement, and until an opportunity offers, after their release, of forwarding them to their own Corps.

6.- Prisoners confined in the Cells are to be allowed to use their Barrack Bedding.

7.- In Garrisons or Barracks, where Provost Serjeants have not already been provided, a Serjeant is to be appointed for each Block, or Set of Cells, from the Regiments in Garrison, to perform the duties of Provost Serjeant; and he is to be selected especially with a view to his fitness to perform those duties.

8.- He will be required to perform no other duty during the period of his holding that office, and will be allowed such a number of Serjeants or Corporals under him, as Assistants, as may be deemed necessary, and a Private Soldier as Cook.

9.- The Provost Serjeant will be especially employed, under the Officer Commanding the Garrison, (or Regiment, if the Cells are appropriated exclusively to a particular Regiment), in taking charge of the Cells, and will be responsible for the safe custody of the Prisoners, and for carrying into effect their sentences, according to the rules laid down for that purpose.

10.- He is bound, however-to the extent of the accommodation-to receive into charge, as well as to release Prisoners, on requisitions in the prescribed Form, signed by Commanding Officers of Corps, without reference to other authority, and is to be held responsible only for their safe custody and discipline, during the period they are so required to be kept in confinement. - Commanding Officers, having Prisoners to place in confinement, will ascertain, at the Brigade Office, what number of unoccupied Cells are disposable, before requiring the Provost Serjeant to take their Prisoners in charge.

11.- It is the duty of Commanding Officers to send to the Cells for their Prisoners at the expiration of the terms of their Imprisonment; but should they fail to do so, the Provost Serjeant will send them to their Regiment, or to the Corps to which they may have been attached, under the charge of one of his Assistants, so that no man shall, by any possibility, be detained in confinement beyond the prescribed period.

12.- He will take care that the Prisoners are supplied with their regular meals, according to the dietary; he must see them frequently, and at uncertain times, during the day, but is not to hold, or to permit his Assistants to hold, any unnecessary communication with them. He is not to permit any person to visit the Prisoners, other than the Officers appointed by these Rules-the Chaplain, and the Officers of the Regiment to which the Prisoners belong, under the sanction of their respective Commanding Officers.

13.- He is to report to the Medical Officer, at his regular visits, the case of any Prisoner who may appear to be out of health; and in the event of sudden and serious illness, at any other time, he is to send an immediate Report to the nearest Medical Officer.

14.- He is to see that the Prisoners have such exercise as their health may require, at the suggestion of the Medical Officer, and is to superintend, during the period of Drill ordered to those who are not strictly under sentence of Solitary confinement.

15.- He is not to permit the Prisoners to hold conversation with each other, or with any other person, during their exercise; and in case of a Prisoner attempting to do so, he is, at once to be sent back into his Cell, and further to be punished as the case may require.

16.- He will take care that the means by which a Prisoner may communicate with the Provost Serjeant, or his Assistant, be kept in proper repair; and the Sentry over the Cells will have orders immediately to call the attention of one of these Officers, upon any signal being made by a Prisoner.

17.- The Provost Serjeant will cause the Prisoners to wash themselves thoroughly, at least once a day, to shave daily, to change their linen twice, and to wash their feet, at least once a week.

18.- He will oblige each Prisoner to keep his own Cell, together with the utensils and furniture thereof, clean and orderly, and he will cause the Bedding to be removed during the day, and exposed to the air in dry weather.

19.- He must pay due attention to the ventilation of the Cells, and to the warming of them when necessary, and will obey any instructions he may receive from the Medical Officer, with reference to these points.

20.- The use of Tobacco, in any form, as well as of Spirituous, or other Liquors, by a Prisoner, is peremptorily prohibited.

21.- No Books are to be permitted in Cells, for the use of the Prisoners, except such as are specified in a List which shall be approved by the Garrison Chaplain, or, in the event of there being no Garrison Chaplain, by the principal Chaplain of the Army.

22.- The Provost Serjeant will make a daily Report to the Officer of the Day, of the state of the Cells and Premises, the Furniture, and other Articles under his charge, and will specify therein the hours at which he shall have visited the Prisoners, their conduct, whether regular or otherwise, - a Copy of such Report to be entered in a Journal to be kept for this, and other purposes.

23.- He will exercise his Authority with firmness, temper, and humanity, - abstain from all irritating language, and must not strike, or otherwise illtreat a Prisoner.

24.- In cases of violence, or urgent and absolute necessity, the Officer Commanding the Garrison, or the Officer in Command of the Regiment to which the Offender belongs, may, by an Order in writing, direct any Prisoner to be placed in Hand-cuffs, such Order to specify the cause thereof, and the time during which he is to remain under such restraint.

25.- The Provost Serjeant, accompanied by his Assistants, is to march the whole of the Prisoners in his charge, to Divine Service on Sunday, with the rest of the Troops, under an Escort, to be furnished for that purpose, from the Main Guard.

26.- The Diet of all Prisoners confined in the Cells, under the Provost Serjeant, is to consist of Bread and Potatoes, or Oatmeal and Potatoes only, with Milk, in such portions as may, from time to time, be directed by the Secretary at War, unless otherwise recommended, in special cases, by the visiting Medical Officer.

27.- The Provost Serjeant will consider it to be a part of his Duty to perform the Police Duties of the Barrack, or in that part of the Garrison, in, or near which, the Cells may be situated. - He will frequently visit the Canteens in the Neighbourhood, and interfere to prevent Drunkenness or Riot - He will use his Authority to repress all irregularity, and will clear the Barracks of any loose, or disorderly Characters.
In the course of these Duties, he must, at all times be extremely careful to avoid any personal collision with Soldiers, and will be allowed such assistance in making his rounds, as may be deemed necessary by the Officer Commanding the Garrison, or Barracks.

28.- The Provost Serjeant will be required to keep the following Books, viz:-

First. - A Journal, in which shall be recorded all occurrences of importance, particularly such as relate to the health and discipline of the Prisoners.- The hour at which the Cells are visited by the Officer of the Day, the Medical Officer, and Chaplain, and the state of the Prisoners generally, as reported to the Officer of the Day, - such Journal to be laid before the Officer Commanding, as often as may be required.

Secondly. - A Prison Defaulter's Book, in which shall be entered all offences against Prison Rules, and the Punishments awarded-an extract of which is to be furnished to Commanding Officers of regiments and Depôts, when a Prisoner returns to his Duty.

Thirdly. - A Prison Register, in which shall be entered the particulars, under the different heads, specified in the prescribed Form.

Fourthly. - A Cash Book for messing and other expenditure.

29.- It is to be clearly understood, that no Cell shall be occupied for the enforcement of these Regulations, until the Commander in Chief shall have been satisfied that it is of such a size, and ventilated, warmed, and fitted up in such a manner, as may be required by a due regard to health, and until he shall have officially notified his sanction to its being occupied for such purpose.

30.- With this view, when, the Cells at any particular Barrack or Station are reported to have been completed the Inspector of Military Prisons will be directed by the Secretary at War to visit them, and when he has satisfied himself of their fitness, will sign a Certificate to that effect, which will be transmitted to the Quarter Master General, for the Commander in Chief's Information,- whose official sanction for the occupation of the Cells, will be communicated to the Barrack Master, through the Ordnance Department, in order that the Commanding Officers of Corps may be informed, on the arrival of Troops in the Barrack, that they are in a fit state for occupation, and be enabled immediately to dispose of their Regimental Prisoners.

31.- On Foreign Stations, the duty of ascertaining the state of the Cells will devolve on the Officer in charge of the Quarter Master General's Department, assisted by the Commanding Engineer, and their fitness will be certified, by him, to the Officer Commanding on the Station, before they are to be occupied for the enforcement of these Regulations.

By Command of Field Marshal,
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON,
Commander in Chief.
JOHN MACDONALD,
Adjutant General.

Horse Guards
8th November, 1844.

NOTE. - It is intended, that a strictly Regimental System of Imprisonment shall be established, by the construction of a proportion of Cells in every Barrack, but as a considerable time must necessarily elapse before the required accommodation can be prepared, and that System be fully carried out, the above Regulations, which, with very slight modifications, will apply, either to a Garrison, or Regimental System of Imprisonment, have been published with the view of rendering the Cells, which have already been constructed in some of the larger Garrisons, immediately available, and for occupying, and bringing into use, others, as they may be completed at other Military Stations.

Appendix

No. 1.
Form of Report of the Orderly Officer

Portsmouth,
_____, 1844.

Sir,

I inspected the Cells in _____ Barracks yesterday, between the hours of _____ and _____. I visited the Prisoners _____ in number, and have to Report (all correct, or any special circumstances, as the case may be).

A.B.
Captain or Officer of the Day.

The
Officer Commanding
The Garrison or Regiment.

No. 2.
Form of the Provost Serjeant's Daily Report to the Orderly Officer.

Sir,

I visited the Cells, and minutely inspected the Prisoners, this morning, when I found the whole of them, as well as their furniture and utensils, clean and in good order (with the exception of _____ damaged by _____).

I visited the Prisoners _____ in number, between the hours of _____ and _____ yesterday, and again at _____ this morning, when I found all regular (or otherwise, as the case may be).

C.D.
Provost Serjeant.

The
Orderly Officer.

No. 3.
Form of Commitment to the Garrison or Barrack Cells, pursuant to the sentence of a Court Martial.

Prisoner's Name, Country, Age, Date

You are hereby required to receive into your Custody, and to keep (in

of Enlistment,
Previous Character,
Whether Imprisoned before.

Articles of clothing and necessaries in possession at the period of his Commitment.

Solitary Confinement, or at Hard Labor, as the case may be), in the Cells, for the period of _____ days, from this Date inclusive, E--F--of the _____ Regiment of _____, pursuant to the Sentence of a _____ Court Martial, at which he was convicted of (state the nature of the Crime).

G.H.
Commanding Regiment
or Depôt.

Portsmouth,
_____ 1814.

The Provost Serjeant
at _____ Barracks.

I Certify, that I have examined _____ and find him free from Disease, and capable of undergoing the punishment of Imprisonment awarded to him.

J.K.
Surgeon.

_____

No. 4.

Form of Commitment to the Cells, under the Orders of the Commanding Officer of the Regiment or Depot.

_____

Prisoner's Name,
Country,
Age,
Date of Enlistment,
Previous Character,
Whether Imprisoned before.
Articles of clothing and necessaries in possession at the period of his confinement.

You are hereby required to receive into your Custody, and to keep (in Solitary Confinement, or at Hard Labor, as the case may be), for the period of _____ days, from this Date inclusive, E_____F_____of the _____ Regiment of _____, he having been awarded that punishment by me for (state the nature of the offence).

G.H.
Commanding Regiment
or Depot.

Portsmouth
_____ 1844.

The Provost Sergeant
at _____ Barracks.

I Certify, that I have examined _____ and find him free from Disease, and capable of undergoing the punishment of Imprisonment awarded to him.

J.K.
Surgeon

No. 5.

Order for the Release of a Prisoner from the Cells.

You are hereby required to release from Confinement, and to deliver over to the Bearer of this Order the Prisoner ____ of the ____ confined by my Order on the ____ in consequence of ____ (the remainder of his punishment having been remitted, or of the March or Embarkation of the Regiment or Depôt, Sickness, or any other cause).

J.K.
Commanding Regiment
or Depôt.

_____

No. 6.

The Register of Cells at _____ Barracks.

Corps:
Name:
Regimental Number:
Age. Years:
Months:
Service Years:
Months:
Character on Admission:
Crime for which now undergoing Imprisonment:
Date of Admission:

Description of Court Martial tried by, or if by order of the Commanding Officer:

Sentence Solitary: Days:
Labour Hard: Days:
Punishment. Inflicted:
Remitted:
Days in Hospital:
Whether imprisoned
before; if so, how often
Remarks:

No.7.

ABSTRACT of the RULES to be fixed up in each Cell, and to be read over and explained to Prisoners on their reception, and once every week afterwards, during the period they remain in confinement.

1.- Every Prisoner on being brought to the Cells is to be strictly searched, and must give up every thing in his possession, he is also to be thoroughly cleaned, and to have his hair cut short.

2.- Every Prisoner is to wash himself thoroughly at least once a day, to change his linen twice a week, and to wash his feet once a week. He is to shave daily, and to have his face and hands washed, and his person and dress clean and neat, previous to the hour of morning Parade.

3.- Prisoners subject to the Punishment of Solitary Confinement, are not to be permitted to leave their Cells, except for such periods of exercise, as may be deemed necessary for their health by the Medical Officer.

4.- When Imprisonment with Hard Labor is awarded, Drill in Marching Order will in general be the only means of carrying such punishment into effect, but, it is to be understood, that they are liable to be employed on the Public Works, or in such Duties of Drudgery or Fatigue, as the Commanding Officer on the spot may be enabled to order, or to procure for them.

5.- When Drill, in Marching Order, is had recourse to, it is not to exceed, in frequency or duration, that prescribed for Defaulters, by the Regulations of the Army;- and when Labor can be procured, it is to be limited to the ordinary working hours of the Season, as practised and followed in Her Majesty's Arsenals and Dock Yards, with the same intervals for Meals.

6.- Prisoners confined in the Cells are to be allowed to use their Barrack Bedding.

7.- For disorders or irregularities committed while under Confinement, the Diet of a Prisoner may be reduced, or he may be placed on Bread and Water, for any period not exceeding 72 hours. He may also be deprived of his bedding for a like period, and for violent or outrageous conduct, Prisoners are liable to be put in handcuffs.

8.- Prisoners are not to hold conversation with each other, or with any other person, during their Work or Exercise, and in case of any attempt to do so, they are to be sent back to their Cells, and further, to be punished as the case may require.

9.- Every Prisoner is to keep his own Cell, together with its Furniture, Bedding, and Utensils, clean and in proper order.

10.- The use of Tobacco, in any form, as well as of Spirituous, or other Liquors, by a Prisoner, is peremptorily prohibited.

11.- No Books are to be allowed in the Cells, except such as are sanctioned by the Chaplain.

12.- Neither the Provost Serjeant, nor his Assistants are permitted to strike, abuse, or otherwise illtreat a Prisoner.

13.- It is the duty of the Orderly Officer in his daily visits to the Cells, to listen to the reasonable and well grounded complaints of the Prisoners, and to cause them to be redressed, and in case of ill health, the Prisoners have also a daily opportunity of consulting a Medical Officer of the Regiment or Garrison.

14.- No person is to be permitted to visit a Prisoner in the Cells, other than the Officers appointed by the Regulations.

15.- The Scale of Diet which has been approved of by the Secretary at War for Prisoners in the Cells, is as follows:-

DAILY.

Breakfast, twelve ounces of Oatmeal, or twelve ounces of Bread, and half a pint of Milk.

Dinner, five pounds of Potatoes, and one pint of Milk.

Prisoners ordered to be placed on Bread and Water are to have one pound of Bread, with such quantity of Water as may be required.

6 Returns of Stores; Utensils needed for Garrison Cells, 1862-63[6]

Garrison Cells, Hamilton CW.
Return of Stores, Utensils etc. required for the service of the above cells. 1 January 1863

Shot 32 pdrs	8
Shot Block	8
Hammers, Stone, Small	8
Barnicles, pairs	8
Door, Rugs	2
Stone, Tons	20
Brushes, Blk. Lead	2
Black Lead lbs.	1
Handcuffs, pairs	2
Tin Pints	1
Breakfast Tins	1

Garrison Cells London C.W.
Return of Stores, Utensils etc. required for the service of the above cells. 5 January 1863

Lamps with reflectors	2
Passage Lamps for new cells	1
Old Blankets & sheets for cleaning	6
twenty four pound shot	12
shot blocks	52
cell pans	37
large pots for cooking	2
bed boards	17
stools for cells	29
mats for passages	6
brushes for dusting	37
sweeping brushes	41
hand scrubbers	4
baskets for tins	2
saws wood	2
horses wood	2
black lead brushes	6
white wash brushes	6
dust pans	3
weights and scales	1 set

Garrison Cells Toronto CW
Return of Stores, Utensils etc. required for the use of the above cells 31 December 1862

6 mop heads and handles
1 pale [sic] water
1 cross cut saw and frame
1 saw file
20 small stone hammers
24 bedsteads iron

30 messing dishes oval 12 x 9 inches
30 tin plates
30 tin pints
14 tin quart potts [sic]
7 chamber pots pewter
1 scales and weights
1 small hand bell
6 pairs list slippers unsoled
18 forms soldiers

7 Prayer for Condemned Malefactors[7]

Prayer for Malefactors (after condemnation)
To be read before the General Thanksgiving.
O, most gracious and merciful God, we earnestly beseech thee to have pity and compassion upon our unhappy brethren and who now lie under sentence, and are appointed to die. Visit them, O Lord, with thy mercy and salvation; convince them of the miserable condition they are in by their sins and wickedness; and let thy powerful grace produce in them such a godly sorrow and sincere repentance, as thou wilt be pleased to accept. Give them a strong and lively faith in thy Son, and blessed Saviour and make it effectual to the salvation of their souls. O Lord, in judgement remember mercy, and whatever sufferings they are to endure in this world, yet deliver them, O God, from the bitter pains of eternal death. Pardon their sins, and save their souls, for the sake and merits of thy dear Son, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

8 "Return of the Regimental Courts Martial held in the 103rd Regimt of Foot from 22nd April to 1st October 1812 inclusive"[8]

Crime for which tried	Decision	Sentence	Inflicted	Remitted
theft	guilty	300 lashes	200	---
on suspicion of theft	do	300	15	---
insolence to a non commissioned officer	do	100	100	---
absenting himself from his regiment without leave	do	300	---	300

absenting himself from the ship without leave	do	200	---	---
suspicion of maiming a pig in a most brutal manner	not guilty	acquitted	---	---
having necessaries in his possession the property of others and denying the same	guilty	100	75	---
on suspicion of theft	do	100	100	---
having in his possession articles stated to be the property of others	do	50	---	50
disobedience of orders and getting drunk	do	---	---	---
unsoldierlike conduct	do	300	---	---
disobedience of orders	do	to be reduced to ranks & 100	reduction	100
unsoldierlike conduct	do	200	100	100
on suspicion of theft	do	300	50	---
disrespect to a non commissioned officer	do	50	50	---
drunk on duty and disrespect to a non commissioned officer	do	100	100	---
unsoldierlike conduct	not guilty	acquitted	---	---
on suspicion of theft	guilty	25	---	25
do	do	200	50	150
do	do	200	50	150
selling or making away with part of his necessaries	do	300	commuted to 7 days and nights in BH	

unsoldierlike conduct	not guilty	acquitted	---	---
1st knocking down a sentry of the 8 Regt - 2d suspicion of theft	guilty	300	300	---
grossly insulting a non commissioned officer	not guilty	acquitted	---	---
drunk and absent from parade	guilty	to be reduced	reduced	---
losing through neglect or making away with part of his necessaries	do	200	50	---
do	do	200	12	---
on suspicion of theft	do	200	50	---
drunk on duty	not guilty	acquitted	---	---
on suspicion of theft	guilty	200	37	---
insolence to a non commissioned officer and rioting in his Bk room	do	300	---	300
accused of theft	not guilty	acquitted	---	---
absenting himself from duties and tattoo	guilty	200	100	---
drunk on guard	do	300	---	---
insolence to a non commissioned officer	do	100	---	---
drunk and absent from his guard	do	300	100	---

9 Report of the Royal Commission on Military Punishments[9]

Conclusions.

1. That the opinion of almost every witness we have examined is, that the substitution of other punishments for corporal punishment in Your Majesty's Army, upon actual service and in the field, is impracticable, and if practicable, would be insufficient for the maintenance of proper discipline.

2. That the abolition of the power of awarding corporal punishment, by sentence of court martial in the British Islands and the Colonies, and during peace, and the retention of the power of inflicting that punishment when the Army is on service and in the field appears to us, for the reasons we have stated, manifestly unjust.

3. That it does not appear to us, that the punishments which have been resorted as substitutes, have hitherto had such an effect as to render it safe to abolish altogether that power in Great Britain or the colonies, nor have any other punishments been suggested to us that appear to promise a more favourable result.

4. That it appears to us, that, even supposing that some effectual substitutes might be devised or that those now in use might be made more effectual, so as to render corporal punishment ultimately unnecessary, it would be unsafe to proceed at once to abolish it entirely, and that, even in that case, its abolition should be gradual.

5. That in order to give full effect to the punishments now in use as substitutes for corporal punishment, considerable alterations must be made in the means of rendering a solitary confinement in the several barracks more effective, and that a certain number of prisons exclusively for military offenders should be provided as soon as possible.

6. That, although we have been unwillingly convinced of the necessity of still retaining the power of corporal punishment, and in proportion to our conviction of that necessity, we earnestly recommend, that no pains may be spared to endeavour to make its infliction less frequent.

7. That, with the view of diminishing the frequency of this punishment, the offences to which it is limited, and the occasions upon which it should be restored to, should be more clearly defined.

8. That, with the same view, more discretion should be vested in commanding officers as to the power of making use of minor punishments, and in determining on the offences which shall, under their orders, be tried by a regimental court martial.

9. That it appears to us that the extent of the sentences in the power of the several descriptions of courts martial to award, may, without danger, be more limited than at present.

10. That encouragement should be given in the way of honorary reward and distinction, both to the gallant, and to the well-conducted soldier.

11. That no consideration of expense, within reasonable bounds, should be allowed to stand in the way of attending to the comforts of the soldier while in the service, and of a sufficient pension for the good and deserving men, after that service has been performed.

APPENDIX E. LIBRARIES

1 Garrison Library at Chambly [1]

(A) Date established: 1840

	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845
Number of volumes received	300				268	
Number of volumes in library's possession	300				562	562
Number of books lost and paid for by soldiers				6		

(B) From 1 April 1845 to 31 March 1846

	Number of subscribers	Received for subscriptions		Received for books lost, fines	
April	-	-		-	
May	-	-		14	3
June	78	-			1
July	124	10	4	1	11
Aug.	131	10	11	1	1
Sept.	133	11	1		9
Oct.	135	11	3	-	
Nov.	129	10	9	-	
Dec.	135	11	3	5	2
Jan.	159	13	3	-	
Feb.	159	13	3		8
March	151	12	7		2
Totals		£5	11 2	£1	4 1

2 "General Order, Home and Foreign Stations"[2]

Office of Ordnance
25th October, 1844.

The Master General and Board of Ordnance having been in communication with His Grace The Commander-in-Chief, and the Secretary at War, on the subject of the Army Libraries established in Barracks, and the arrangement indispensably necessary for the custody and due preservation of the Books, the Code of Instructions annexed has been determined upon, and is intended to be published in a forthcoming Edition of the "Regulations and Orders of the Army."

R. Byham,
Secretary

Code of Instructions Relative to Barrack Libraries.

1.- A Library and Reading Room have been established for the use of the Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers at each of the principal Barracks throughout the United Kingdom and the Colonies.

2.- The object of these Institutions is to encourage the Soldiery to employ their leisure hours in a manner that shall combine amusement with the attainment of useful knowledge, and teach them the value of sober, regular, and moral habits.

3.- It may reasonably be expected that in proportion as these Libraries succeed, will, probably be the desire to add to them by private donations of Books;-but in holding out encouragement to offer such donations, it is to be clearly understood, that none can be accepted, until the list of Books of which they consist, shall have been examined and approved by the Commander-in-Chief, and the Secretary-at-War.

4.- The Master-General and Board of Ordnance have appropriated suitable apartments for a Library and Reading Room in the Barrack at each of the Stations where Libraries have been established.

5.- The Rooms so appropriated are to be fitted up with Shelves and closed Book Cases, as well as with Tables and Forms, and are during the Winter months to be supplied with Fuel and Light.

6.- The Library and its contents are to be placed under the charge of the Barrack-Master, who assisted by an Officer of the Troops, not under the Rank of Captain, and accompanied by the Quarter-Masters of the different Corps in Garrison, will make a minute Monthly Inspection of the Books for the purpose of ascertaining the losses sustained, and damage done, either

designedly, or through neglect, during the month immediately preceding, and of assessing the charges for the same, and a similar Inspection will take place at every movement or interchange of Troops.

7.- Should the Barrack Master and the Officers appointed, as above directed, to assist him at the Inspection, disagree as to the amount to be charged to the Troops, the question will be referred to the Officer Commanding on the spot, whose decision is to be considered final.

8.- Statements of the Charges thus assessed against the Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, who have wilfully, or through neglect, caused the damage, are to be attested by the Barrack Master and the Officer who has assisted him at the Inspection; and these statement are to be transmitted to the Paymasters of the Regiments and Depôts, with a view to the amount being recovered from Non-Commissioned Officers and Men at their next settlement, and carried to the Credit of the Public in such manner as may be directed by the Secretary-at-War.

9.- No charges are to be made for damages arising from fair wear and tear; and the Inspecting Officers above referred to may exercise their discretion in awarding the charge to be made against a Soldier, for the loss of or damage done to a Book, whenever it shall be satisfactorily shewn that it has been the result of accident, and not of design; but in the latter case, the full amount of damage should be recovered from the Soldier committing it.

10.- All repairs required to the Books will be reported by the Commanding Officer, quarterly, to the Secretary-at-War, distinguishing those which may have become necessary in consequence of fair use, from those for which charges shall have been made against the Soldier.

11.- A Librarian will be appointed by the Ordnance Department, for each of the Libraries, who, under the Barrack Master will be held responsible for the Books and who is to be assisted by a Non-commissioned Officer from each of the Corps in Garrison, until he shall have become well acquainted with the person and character of all the Subscribers.

12.- All applications, therefore, relative to the appointment of, or allowances to, Librarians, should be addressed to the Secretary of The Board of Ordnance, for the consideration of The Master General and Board.

13.- With proper care and attention on the part of the Librarian and his Assistant, it is considered that a general charge against the Subscribers, or against those of any particular Corps, ought rarely to be necessary; and that these Functionaries will be

prepared to point out the Individual who may have committed any specific damage, or have been the cause of any particular loss.

14.- General Officers, at their periodical Inspection of the Troops, are to report upon the state of the different Libraries, within their Districts or Commands, as well as on the degree of attention paid to them by the Librarians submitting such suggestions as they may deem necessary for their improvement, and stating the number of Subscribers in each of the Corps under their Command.

25th Oct. 1844.

3 "Circular, No. 217 (Libraries)"[3]

War Office,
22nd February, 1858.

The Secretary of State for War, with the concurrence of H.R.H. the General Commanding in Chief, having approved of the following general Regulations for Military Reading Rooms and Libraries, the same are promulgated for the information and guidance of all concerned.

B. Hawes.

General Regulations.

1.- Military Libraries are established in Garrisons and Quarters for the purpose of placing a limited supply of standard works of instruction and entertainment within reach of the troops. New works are supplied from time to time by order of the Secretary of State for War.

2.- The subscription for all officers is one day's pay per annum: which having been paid at any one Station, entitles the subscriber to the use of the library at any other Station to which he may go in the twelve months.

3.- The subscription for non-commissioned officers and men is one penny per month, to be collected by the Librarian, and handed over to the Barrack Master, by whom it will be carried to the public credit.

4.- Twenty shillings per annum are allowed under War Office Regulation, 30, p. 19, for the purchase of stationery and paper for covering the books, and other petty expenses in keeping them in repair, exclusive of binding. This sum is provided and paid by the Barrack Master.

5.- The following extract from the Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, p. 245, fully

describes the purposes for which Military Libraries are maintained:-

> "80. Barrack Libraries and Reading Rooms, open to the troops on payment of a very small subscription, have been established at the principal barracks throughout the United Kingdom and the Colonies. The object of which is to encourage the soldiers to employ their leisure hours in a manner that shall combine amusement with the attainment of useful knowledge, and teach them the value of sober, regular and moral habits.
>
> "81. No Donation of books for Barrack Libraries is to be accepted until the list of them has been approved by the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of State for War.
>
> "82. Suitable apartments are appropriated, fitted up with shelves, closed bookcases, tables, chairs, and forms, for a library and reading room, at the stations where Libraries are established, and are to be supplied with fuel and light.
>
> "83. The Library and its contents are under the more immediate supervision of the Barrack-Master, who, assisted by an officer of the troops, not under the rank of Captain, and accompanied by the Quarter-masters of the different corps in garrison, is to make a minute monthly inspection of the books, for the purpose of ascertaining the losses sustained, and damage done, either designedly or through neglect, during the month immediately preceding, and of assessing the charges for the same; and a similar inspection is to take place at every movement or interchange of troops. It will be competent, however, to the commanding officer at every station to name also a committee of officers, of whom the Barrack-Master shall be one, to consider, from time to time, the general state of the Library and Reading Room, the books most read, the books most required, and to add to the monthly report such recommendations for the consideration of the Secretary of

State for War as they may agree to, and the commanding officer may approve.*

"84. Should the Barrack-Master, and the officer appointed to assist him at the inspection, disagree as to the amount to be charged to the troops, the question is to be referred to the officer commanding on the spot, whose decision is to be considered final.

"85. Statements of the charges assessed against the officers, non-commissioned officers and men are to be attested by the Barrack-Master and the officer who has assisted him at the inspection; and these statements are to be transmitted to the Paymasters of the regiments and depôts, with a view to the amount being recovered from the non-commissioned officers and men at their next settlement, and carried to the credit of the public in such manner as may be directed by the Secretary of State for War.

"86. No charges are to be made for damage arising from fair wear and tear, and the inspecting officers above referred to may exercise their discretion in awarding the charge to be made against a soldier for the loss of, or damage done to a book, whenever it shall be satisfactorily shown that it has been the result of accident and not of design; but in the latter case the full amount of damage should be recovered from the soldier committing it.

"87. All repairs required to the books are to be reported by the commanding officer quarterly to the Secretary of State for War, distinguishing those which may have become necessary in consequence of fair use, from those for which charges shall have been made against the soldier.

"88. The general supervision of Military Libraries is one of the duties of the Inspector-General of Army Schools. A Librarian will be appointed by the Secretary of State for War for each of the

*In every case in which a single volume is lost or injured, unless the work be one of which the volumes are procurable separately, the whole set must be charged for, and the other volumes will become the property of the soldier. This applies to almost all works except serials.

Libraries, who, under the commanding officer, assisted by the Barrack-Master, or the committee above referred to, it to be held responsible for the books, and who is to be assisted by a non-commissioned officer from each of the corps in garrison, until he shall have become well acquainted with the persons and character of all the subscribers. All applications, therefore, relative to the appointment of or allowance to Librarians, should be addressed to the Secretary of State for War.

"89. With proper care and attention on the part of the Librarian and his assistants, it is considered that a general charge against the subscribers, or against those of any particular corps, ought rarely to be necessary, and that these functionaries will be prepared to point out the individual who may have committed any specific damage, or have been the cause of any particular loss.

"90. General officers, at their periodical inspections of the troops, are to report upon the state of the different Libraries within their commands, as well as [to] the degree of attention paid to them by the Librarians, submitting such suggestions as they may deem necessary for their improvement, and stating the number of subscribers in each of the corps under their command.

"91. The officers of the army are allowed to participate in the advantage afforded to the troops by the establishment of Barrack Libraries; they must, however, bear in mind that these Libraries have been formed at the public expense for the express benefit of the soldiers; and in extending this benefit to the officers, it must be clearly understood that in no case is this privilege to interfere with the free use of the books by the soldiers. Officers, having once paid their yearly subscription to a Library, are free of any Library at the stations to which they may be removed during the year."

6.- Where the construction of the Barracks admit of it, two rooms are set apart, one as a Library, the other as a Reading Room; where only one room can be spared for these purposes, it will be considered as a Reading Room, and subject to the orders applying to

Reading Rooms, the books of the Library being kept in it for convenience.

7.- Books found by the Boards of Inspection to require re-binding will be sent to Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Westminster, when this is practicable without much expense. Where it cannot be done they may be re-bound at the station, authority being previously obtained at all home stations from the Secretary of State. It has been ascertained that the following are reasonable and proper rates to allow private tradesmen.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
32mo or 24mo.....	0	10	Royal 8vo.....	2	0
18mo or Royal 24mo....	1	0	Super Royal 8vo....	2	6
Fep.8vo or Ryl. 18mo..	1	1	Imperial 8vo.....	3	0
Demy 12mo.....	1	2	Crown 4to.....	3	4
Medium 12mo.....	1	3	Demy 4to.....	3	6
Crown 8vo.....	1	3	Medium 4to.....	4	3
Demy 8vo.....	1	6	Royal 4to.....	5	0
Medium 8vo.....	1	8	Crown folio.....	6	0

In making applications for books to be replaced, Librarians must be very particular in quoting the full title, and, if possible, the publisher's name; in the case of serials, the volume must be named. Books condemned as unserviceable are likewise to be returned to the Stationery Office; they may be sent direct from stations in Great Britain. At all other stations they are to be made up into convenient parcels, and sent to the principal Military Storekeeper, by whom they will be forwarded to Woolwich by Government Freight ships as opportunities offer.

8.- Librarians are required to attend at the Library at such hours as the commanding officer may direct, to receive and exchange books; and to see that the books of reference, games, furniture, and other public property in their charge, are not misused. It will be the duty of the Librarian to call the attention of the Commanding officer to any unusual detention of a book by a subscriber, after he has been requested to return it, and to take his instructions as to the time to be allowed for the perusal of a volume, when its demand renders it necessary to limit such time.

9.- Where the construction of the barrack admits of it, a room (adjacent to the Library, if practicable) will be appropriated permanently as a Librarian's quarter, and the allowances of a staff non-commissioned officer of the second class may be issued for the same. Where no room can be provided, the commuted allowances for lodging fuel, and light for the same class may be issued in lieu thereof. The Librarian is not under any circumstances to

make use of the Library as a private quarter, and his own quarter must be given up when urgently required for the troops.

10.- All gambling is strictly prohibited. The Secretary of State for War having approved of a set of games being supplied to a proportion of the Reading Rooms, as an additional inducement to non-commissioned officers and men to frequent them, these articles will be considered to be in the Librarian's charge, who will see that they are put away carefully every evening, and will report to the Barrack-Master any loss or injury that may occur.

11.- The following prices will be charged as Barrack damages for wilful loss or injury:-

				s.	d.
Chess board			each	6	0
Chess men - Pawns	per doz.	2	0	0	2
" Bishops	"	3	0	0	3
" Castles	"	3	0	0	3
" Knights	"	6	0	0	6
" Kings	"	6	0	0	6
" Queens	"	6	0	0	6
Box for Chess men			"	1	0
Draught Boards			"	6	0
Draught men	per doz.	1	0	0	1
Box for Draught men			"	1	0
Backgammon tables			"	8	6
Backgammon men	per doz.	1	0	0	1
Dice box			"	0	9
Ivory cubes			"	0	6
Solitaire board			"	5	0
Balls			per dozen	0	9
Solitaire box			each	1	0
Dominoes			per set	6	6
Writing-book				6	6

Pieces that are lost may be charged singly, and will be replaced on application. It is hoped, however, that non-commissioned officers and men will show that they appreciate an arrangement made solely for their amusement by taking care of these objects, and of any maps, charts, or diagrams that may be from time to time supplied for their information.

12.- Smoking is sanctioned in Reading Rooms, subject to the permission of the commanding officer, and there will be no objection to arrangements under his authority for the supply of tea or coffee; but the introduction of wine, beer, or spirits, under any pretence, is strictly prohibited.

13.- No newspapers, periodicals, or books, except those furnished by the Secretary of State are to be admitted into any Reading Room without the express

sanction of the commanding officer, who is required to state in the Quarterly Report what newspapers, periodicals, or books have been so admitted.

14.- The Secretary of State for War, having approved of the issue of one suit for uniform per annum to each Librarian of the pattern issued to enrolled Pensioners, the Librarian is expected to appear in the same when on duty; and is required at all times to present a clean and respectable appearance, as well as to have the Library, and Reading room, and his own quarters, in perfect order.

B. Hawes.

General Orders, Headquarters, Montreal, 19 February 1864[4]

General Orders.
No. 1. The following Circular No. 846 referred to in General Orders, of the 13th instant, is published for general information:

...Memorandum relative to Regimental Recreation Rooms

Construction.

1. The accommodation need not be costly. It should provide for 30 per cent of the Barrack accommodation.
2. One half of the surface area should be for the books and reading room, and the other half for the games room.

In rooms of unequal size, the game room should be larger.

3. The building might be either on two plans. The one, all ground floor, having the bar between the reading room and the game room; the other in two floors, the reading room above, and the bar on the ground floor, opening into the game room.
4. The height of the rooms should be in proportion to the length and breadth. - A square room would be more comfortable than a long narrow room. - Top lighting would be advantageous, in addition to windows, and there should be comfortable fire places, with good ventilation, & conveniences.
5. When a separate kitchen is not necessary the bar should have a small Kitchen range and boiler, and a money-till with lock, also means of preparing tea, coffee, washing and putting away plates, tea cups &c.
6. The walls & ceilings should be plastered and coloured and the rooms fitted with Officers' or other suitable grates.
7. A broad glazed verandah along one side of the

building for the men to sit under in wet weather should be provided when practicable.
8. Gas or in default, moderator oil lamps, to be used for lighting the whole establishment.
9. Cloak pins should be provided to the extent of 20 per Cent of the Barrack accommodation.
10. The buildings to be capable of extension to meet the increase of Subscribers.
11. In re-appropriations, when two rooms cannot be spared for Recreation Rooms, one may be proposed for both reading & games, in accordance with article 4 of Horse Guards General Order No. 823, until more ample accommodation can be afforded.

Schedule
Furniture

Window blinds to each room
Dark wooden Settees, not stuffed, of sizes to suit room.
Dark wooden rectangular tables, of sizes to suit room, about 12 feet run for each 100 men on the strength of the Regiment.
Dark wooden round tables, 30 inches diameter, one for each 100 men on the strength of the Regiment.
Painted Chess Board tables, one for each 200 men on the strength of the Regiment.
Officers chairs sufficient to furnish the rooms comfortably, any number required by the attendance to be supplied.
Dark wooden arm chairs, not stuffed, 1 per cent of strength of Regiment.
Dark wooden book case with wire doors.
Cocoa-nut matting.
Spittoons, 4 per cent of the strength of the Regiment, more if found necessary.
Coal boxes, 2, of sizes required.
Coal Scuttles, officers.
Fire irons-)
Fenders -)According to grates.
Clock, value about £1.16.0.
Inkstands 6.
Blotting books 3.
Portfolios, of sizes for periodicals, 12
Prints, good, framed 12.
Maps, and plans mounted (To be provided by the Topographical Dept.)
Moderator lamps, where gas is not supplied.
A tobacco, or cigar box, with divisions, and glass sliding lids (in bar)
Filter, 4 gallon (in bar)

Games

Bagatelle boards---------- 2)
Chess---------- 4)
Draughts---------- 8) Per Regiment if not
Dominoes---------- 6) already provided
Solitaire---------- 2)
Backgammon---------- 2)

Utensils

Cups and Saucers 6 per cent of strength of Regt
Plates----------6----------"---
Tea Spoons----------6----------"---
Knives----------6----------"---
Forks----------6----------"---
Tumblers----------3----------"---
Basins of sizes----------2----------"---
Jugs----------1----------"---
Wooden bowls, large-------2 in all
Coffee boiler with tap----1---"---
Tea -- do -- do----------1---"---
Dishes----------4---"---
Carving knives and forks--2---"---
Tea Pots----------2---"---
Kettles----------2---"---
Tubs for washing plates---2---"---
Trays, small----------4---"---
Canisters, 2 for tea and coffee, to hold about
8 bbs [lbs.?] each.
Coffee Mill, Small---------- 1
Egg Cups----------12
Egg Spoons----------12
Salt Cellars, glass---------12
Salt Spoons----------12
Mustard pots---------- 6
Pepper Casters---------- 3
Frying pans---------- 2
Saucepans of sizes---------- 3
Gridiron---------- 1
Set of Scale and weights---- 1

Fuel

Where ventilating grates have been fitted in the rooms fuel may be issued as provided under existing regulations for these rates in Soldiers' rooms.

Where old pattern grates are in use, the fuel issued may be the same as allowed under existing regulations for the rooms when occupied by soldiers.

Where the rooms are kept open after Tattoo, as sanctioned by article 35, of Horse Guards General Order, No. 823, one sixth more fuel may be issued on

the requisition of the Officer Commanding the Regiment or Corps.

No fuel will be issued for the bar, as any expenditure required for it should be covered by the prices of the articles sold.

Light

Where gas is supplied, the maximum quantity may be at the rate of 5 cubic feet of gas (13 candle illuminating power) per hour for each 1000 cubic feet of content of rooms.

The gas may be kept turned on by the Barrack Master after Tattoo, in accordance with the above named article, on the requisition of the Commanding Officer.

Where moderator lamps are used, the maximum quantity supplied may be two for each 1000 cubic feet of content of room.

The allowance of oil should not exceed 2 ounces per hour per moderator lamp during the hours that the rooms are kept open after dusk....

APPENDIX F. RELIGION

1 Letter from John Owen, Chaplain General, to the Secretary at War, 15 Sept. 1810[1]

Chaplain General's Office
15 Sept. 1810

I take the liberty of calling your attention to the expediency of supplying Books for the Sick in the various Military Hospitals.

HM's Government have liberally arranged the Establishment of Chaplains to the Army, they have done all the Case admits to secure a succession of fit men; & to excite them to diligence my Superiors have kindly backed by exhortations with their Authority.

No Clergyman acquainted with men in the Ranks will say that they refuse to lend at least a willing ear. Some may suppose that Soldiers are a more difficult subject for moral & religious Instruction than other orders of the Community, but it is not so -- A Soldier is not exposed to more than the common temptations of Life, but he has in his profession restraints that other men have not, & it may be maintained if the Chaplain & each officer would faithfully perform his Duty, a Regt would present an association of Men more decent & more moral than can be found in any other form.

The time of sickness is for the young and heedless the time for reflection. It is in the Hospitals that the Soldier discerns the result of vice & intermperance I have earnestly directed my efforts to obtain the attendance of Chaplains twice a week, at least, at the Bed side of every sick & wounded Man. Where we have not Chaplains on our Establishment, it is provided by the Certificates of Duty now about to be circulated, that no Clergyman officiating to the Troops shall receive Pay without a declaration on His own Honour as well as that of the Commg. Officer that he has yisited the sick twice a week.

The importunity of the Sick & wounded in General Hospitals abroad for the very few Books a Chaplain can convey, occasioned me incessant regret & vexation. The recollection of this has induced me to give, at my own

Charge, an assortment of Books to those Chaplains who have lately left Home.

In this country the demand for Books among the Sick is great & it encreases every Year from the number of young Persons who are now taught to read. The convalescent is in danger of passing his hours over what is bad, if he is not presented with what is otherwise. To preoccupy men's minds is wise in all who would direct them aright. In this Country if they be not preoccupied, there are dissenters of various descriptions ever ready to put little Books in their Hands that do not always inculcate the duty of a Soldier; & to say the least of them present Religion in a feeling & unworthy form that can not incite his fidelity to God or his King. I can appeal to the Adj General for the difficulty of preventing the mistaken zeal of Religionists in this way. Military hospitals they consider as their Field, but by preoccupying those who can read we at once defeat such attempts to perform an important Duty.

Soldiers prefer the Church Establishment & they have more confidence in what comes from those they are in the habits of obeying. The Soldier will have some religion, but it is in the power of his Superiors to direct him to the best.

Your Lordship knows it to be my constant effort to induce those charges only that are indispensable. Your Lordship can retain the Establishment at all times within the limits marked by the Treasury Minute, & yet supply Books for the Hospitals....

I propose that to every ten men in the Hospital there be one Bible, one Testament, 1 Common Prayer & two or three Tracts....

The Tracts to be recommended are those published by the Society for promoting Christian knowledge, held in Bartletts Buildings....

2 **Religious Books sent to the British Army in British North America, 1819-29.**

Books sent by the Rev. Mr. B. Bridges to the Canadas, 16 April 1819[2]

12 Bibles
12 Gamble's
12 Small C. Prayers
6 Small Testaments
12 Small Tracts
12 Several Relgious Tracts bound together
12 Catechism explained
12 Lewis' Do.

Ordered from the Society for the Propogation of Christian Knowledge, 15 October 1821, for the Rev. Mr. Twining, Halifax[3]

3 Maxims of Piety
12 Lewis' Exposition of the Ch. Catechism

Ordered for Halifax, 1 February 1828[4]

12 Bibles
12 Prayers
12 Burgess Short Catechism
12 Gibsons Sinfulness
12 " Serious Service
12 Greens Principle
12 Broughtons Christian Soldier
6 Kerns Directions
6 Christian Monitor
3 Glass Lectures

Ordered for York, 5 December 1829[5]

30 Bibles
30 Prayers
30 Gibsons Advice
30 Wilsons Principles
30 Stanhopes Meditations
30 Stonehouse Admonition
20 Kerns Directions
20 Soldiers Manual.

3 **The abolition of regimental chaplaincies, 1796.**[6]

His Majesty's Warrant for the Gradual Abolition of Regimental Chaplaincies, and Making More Effectual Provision for the Performance of Religious Duties Throughout the Army: Dated 23rd September, 1796.

...Whereas We have taken into Our most serious Consideration the nearly universal Want of Personal Attendance among the Chaplains of Regiments, and of Care in providing proper Deputies; as well as the Difficulty of finding Clergymen to attend Corps serving abroad, upon such a Stipend as is usually stopped from the Pay of the Chaplains for that Purpose, and left to the Management of Commanding Officers; and it appearing to Us, that by abolishing the Office of Regimental Chaplain, as soon as the same may be practicable, and assigning an adequate Pay to such Clergymen as shall attend Our Forces on foreign Service, more effectual Provision may be made for the regular Performance of Religious Duties throughout our Army, without bringing any addition Charges upon the Publick: -- We have therefore thought fit hereby to signify OUR WILL AND PLEASURE, that all Regimental Chaplains, who do not

join their respective Corps on or before the 25th of December next, shall retire from our Service on a reduced Subsistence of Four Shillings per Diem, to commence from that Day inclusive, and to be continued to them during the Term of their natural Lives; and that all future Savings from the Pay of Regimental Chaplains, as now borne on the Establishment, shall be applied to the Purpose of compensating such Persons as may from Time to Time be employed in the actual Performance of Divine Service to our Forces, in the Manner herein-after directed:

On the 25th of June 1797, and at the End of every subsequent Half-year, a Certificate (according to the Form annexed, No. I.) shall be transmitted to the Office of our Secretary at War, by the Commanding Officer of each Corps whose Chaplain shall have joined, stating that such Chaplain continues in the personal Discharge of his Duty; without which Certificate, the Chaplain's Pay shall be respited on the settlement of the Accompts of the Regiment to which he belongs; unless it shall appear that such Chaplain has signified his Desire of being placed on the retired List: But any Chaplain failing in his Personal Attendance, and not having made such Application, shall be superseded.

No Chaplain shall hereafter be allowed to appoint a Deputy; no Chaplaincy which may become vacant by Death, or Resignation, shall be again filled up; no Sale, Exchange, or Transfer of Commissions by the present Chaplains shall be permitted after the 25th December 1796, unless the Application for that Purpose shall have been made previous to that Day: and in the Interval preceding it, no Chaplaincy shall be sold for more than was given for it by its present Possessor; nor shall the Purchaser have any Claim to sell the same again.

And in order to provide for the regular Performance of Religious Duties in future among the Regiments whose Chaplains may retire in Consequence of these our Regulations, OUR FURTHER WILL AND PLEASURE IS, that wherever an Army is formed, or a Body of Troops ordered to be assembled for Service abroad, and in all Garrisons or Stations where several Regiments are near together, Chaplains shall be appointed according to the Number of Corps, in the Proportion of one to each Brigade, or to every Three or Four Regiments; which Chaplains shall receive Ten Shillings per Diem, each, during the Time of their actual Continuance on foreign Service, whether in the Field, or in Garrison; and that, after Twelve years of real foreign Service, every such Chaplain shall be permitted to retire on an Allowance for Four Shillings per Diem, payable in the same Manner and subject to the same Restrictions as the Half-pay.

For such Regiments on foreign Service as are in separate Stations, or not more than two in one Place or near together, an efficient Chaplain shall be appointed at each Station, with an Allowance of seven Shillings per day; such Chaplains to be promoted to Brigades, with Ten Shillings per Day, as Opportunity may offer, and as they shall be found deserving; and likewise, after Twelve Years actual and foreign Service, to be permitted to retire, with an Allowance of four Shillings per Diem; subject to the same Regulations as are observed in regard to the Receipt of Half-pay.

The necessary Number of Chaplains for foreign Service shall be born on the Staff of the different Armies, and Garrisons, at the Rates above specified, and their Pay shall be drawn by them Monthly from the Agents of the respective Commanders in Chief, and Governors.

For every Barrack in the British Dominions, a neighbouring Clergyman is to be employed as the Curate to perform Divine Service every Sunday, and to be paid Twenty-five Pounds per annum.

The Commanding Officer of every separate Regiment in Quarters will attend with his Regiment at some Parish Church; or employ a neighbouring Clergyman to perform Divine Service to the Men: and he will empower the Clergyman whose Parish Church he may attend, or who has done the Duty of the Regiment, to draw on the Agent of the Regiment for such Sum, as he may think a just compensation, provided that for any single Regiment the sum so drawn does not exceed Ten Shillings per week for the actual Time of Service performed: The Clergyman's Draft to be accompanied by a Certificate agreeable to the annexed Form, No. II.

Lastly. We do hereby subject all Regular Chaplains, desiring to be continued in our Service, to the Orders of the Person whom we shall hereafter appoint to be Chaplain-General of our Army, and who is to govern himself by such Instructions as We shall from Time to Time think fit to give him through Our Secretary at War....

CERTIFICATES
referred to in the
FOREGOING WARRANT.

No. I.

I A.B. commanding His Majesty's Regiment, do certify upon my Honour, that the Reverend bearing the Commission of Chaplain in this Regiment, has been personally resident, and performed his Duty as Chaplain during the last six months from to

In Witness whereof I have signed this Certificate.

No. II.

WE the Commanding Officer and Paymaster of His Majesty's Regiment, do hereby certify upon our Honour, that the Reverend (Rector or Curate) of has personally attended and performed the Duty of Chaplain to this Regiment, now in Quarters at during the Space of Weeks from to and we do therefore authorize him to draw upon the Agent of the Regiment for accompanying his Draft with this Certificate.

(Signed)

ENDNOTES

List of Abbreviations

Besides the standard bibliographic and archival short forms, the following abbreviations have been used in the endnotes for purposes of brevity.

CO: Commanding Officer
GB: Great Britain
GO: General Orders, general officer
HG: Horse Guards
RE: Royal Engineers
WO: War Office

Confusion Worse Confounded: The Administration of the Army

1 There is no agreement among military historians as to the number of administrative bodies, partly because the administration was constantly changing. Some sources give only five bureaucratic groups and others list as many as 13. The 11 identified here compare exactly to the list given by Charles Clode. See Charles M. Clode, The Military Forces of the Crown: Their Administration and Government (London: J. Murray, 1869), Vol. 2, p. 769, and Appendix, p. cxlix.

2 Richard Aldington, The Duke: Being an Account of the Life & Achievements of Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington (New York: Viking Press, 1943), p. 28

3 Ibid.

4 Sir Ernest Llewellyn Woodward, The Age of Reform, 1815-1870 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 269.

5 Charles James, An Universal Military Dictionary, in English and French; in which are Explained the Terms of the Principal Sciences that are Necessary for the Information of an Officer, 4th ed. (London: T. Egerton, 1816) (hereafter cited as An Universal Military Dictionary, p. 373.

6 The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "Horse Guards."

7 In the interests of consistency, this paper will use the title "Commander-in-Chief" only, although the incumbent of the office was sometimes called "general commanding in chief," "field marshal on the staff" or "captain general."

8 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 254-55.

9 William Willoughby Cole Verner, The Military Life of HRH George, Duke of Cambridge (London: John Murray, 1905), Vol. 1, pp. 100-101.

10 Ibid. For a description of some of the abuses caused by promotion by patronage in the 18th century, see Richard Gilchrist Glover, Peninsular Preparation: The Reform of the British Army, 1795-1809 (Cambridge: University Press, 1963), pp. 147-51.

11 Some historians assume that the change came with Amherst's appointment as commander-in-chief in 1793; see Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 263-64. I agree with H. Morse Stephens that Amherst was too old to perform his duties efficiently and that no substantive changes at the Horse Guards occurred until York's appointment in 1795. See Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. "Jeffrey Amherst."

12 Sir John William Fortescue, A History of the British Army (London: Macmillan, 1899-1912), Vol. IV, p. 929.

13. Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 39.

14 Hampden Gordon, The War Office (London: Putnam, 1935), pp. 49-50.

15 It was possible to avoid obtaining a recommendation from the colonel but the full particulars of the case had to be communicated to the Duke to avoid this step.

16 Richard G. Glover, op. cit., pp. 153-54.

17 Correlli Barnett, Britain and Her Army, 1509-1970: A Military, Political and Social Survey (London: Allen Lane, 1970), pp. 239-40. Barnett notes the abuses which crept into the system of confidential personnel reports.

18 Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 44. Col. Robert Brownrigg was the first military secretary (Amherst had employed a civilian, Leonard Morse, formerly a clerk in the War Office, as his secretary).

19 Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure. "Report from the Select Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure; Together with Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix and Index" (London: HMSO, 1835), pp. 50-51, evidence of Sir James Kempt.

20 Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 160.

21 Ibid., p. 216

22 Ibid., pp. 218-19. John Graves Simcoe was Inspector General of Recruiting from 1789 to 1791. It was a political appointment.

23 GB, WO, General Regulations and Orders for the Army. Adjutant General's Office, Horse Guards. 12th August 1811. To Which Are Added Such Regulations As Have Been Issued to 1st January 1816 (London: HMSO, 1816), p. iii. This and all other general regulations will be cited hereafter as GB, WO, General Regulations and Orders for the Army, with date of publication.

24 Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. "David Dundas."
25 Charles James, The Regimental Companion; Containing the Pay, Allowances, and Relative Duties of Every Officer in the British Service..., 7th ed. (London: T. Egerton, 1811-13) (hereafter cited as The Regimental Companion), Vol. 3, p. 112.
26 Archibald Forbes, A History of the Army Ordnance Services (London: Medici Society, 1929) (hereafter cited as A History of the Army Ordnance Services), Vol. 1, p. 159. For Board of General Officers, see below.
27 Corelli Barnett, op. cit., p. 240.
28 GB, Select Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure, p. 51, evidence of Sir James Kempt.
29 Charles James, An Universal Military Dictionary, p. 5.
30 C.M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 342.
31 S.P.G. Ward, Wellington's Headquarters: A Study of the Administrative Problems in the Peninsula, 1809-1914 (London: Oxford Univiversity Press, 1957), pp. 12-13.
32 Ibid.
33 Jaspar Godwin Ridley, Lord Palmerston(London: Constable, 1970), pp. 35-36.
34 Dictionary of Canadian Biography, s.v. "William Scarth Moorsom."
35 GB, WO, Standing Orders for the Seventy-ninth Highlanders, with Reference to All General Orders Issued from the Horse Guards Necessary to be Known, Relative to the Discipline, Economy, Conduct, Efficiency, Dress and General Appearance of the Regiment, War Office Warrants and Instructions Connected with Clothing, Accoutrements, Appointments, Necessaries, and Finance, and Ordnance Regulations Relating to the Arms, Ammunition, Quarters and Barracks of the Corps (Quebec: Thomas Cary, 1835) (hereafter cited as GB, WO, Standing Orders of the 79th Highlanders), p. 56.
36 Cited in Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 35.
37 GB, Public Record Office, Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office, rev. ed. (London: HMSO, 1963-) (hereafter cited as GB, PRO, Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office), Vol. 2, p. 304.
38 S.P.G. Ward, op. cit., p. 6.
39 GB, PRO, Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office, Vol. 2, p. 304.
40 Hampden Gordon, op. cit., p. 39.
41 23 Geo. III, cap. 50. This contention is disputed by Olive Anderson, "The Constitutional Position of the Secretary at War, 1642-1855," Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research (hereafter cited as JSAHR), Vol. 35 (1958), p. 167.
42 Wm. W.C. Verner, op. cit., pp. 103-4.

43 Hampden Gordon, op. cit., p. 40. It must be remembered that the army provided all local police services until Sir Robert Peel's "Bobby" Act in 1829. Hence the secretary at war was under considerable pressure, both from local magistrates, to keep detachments in every centre, and from the public, to ensure that the army was not over- zealous in quelling disturbance.

44 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 261. Until 1783, the regimental agent was appointed by the colonel-in-chief of the regiment. Besides disbursing their pay to officers and men and keeping the accounts, agents frequently arranaged the contracts for uniforms. The regimental paymasters, officially under the C in C but working for the secretary at war, assumed some of the agent's duties (Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 349.)

45 Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 36.

46 Cited in Arthur Hamilton-Gorder, Ist Baron Stanmore, Sidney Herbert, Lord Herbert of Lea; a Memoir... London: J. Murray, 1906), Vol. 1, p. 225.

47 Sir Robert Biddulph, Lord Cardwell at the War Office: A History of His Administration, 1868-1874... (London: J. Murray, 1904), p. 4.

48 S.P.G. Ward, op. cit., p. 6.

49 Cited in Jasper G. Ridley, op. cit., p. 34.

50 Ibid., pp. 36-40.

51 Ibid., pp. 81-82.

52 Sir Robert Biddulph, op. cit., p. 5, refers to royal warrant of 29 May 1812.

53 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 261.

54 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 177.

55 McGill University Library, Hardinge Papers, Box 1, p. 2, "Observations on the mode and expense of providing, keeping and issuing Military and other Stores under Messrs Trotter and Co. prior to 1807 and subsequently under the Storekeeper General," 1826.

56 S.P.G. Ward, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

57 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 180.

58 See below under Treasury.

59 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1. p. 185.

60 S.P.G. Ward, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

61 Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), RG 8, I, Vol. 122, pp. 271-97, Robertson to Storekeeper General, Quebec, 25 Sept. 1817.

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64 Whitworth Porter, History of the Corps of Royal Engineers (London: Longmans, Green, 1889), Vol. 2, pp. 90-91.
65 John Montresor, cited in Douglas W. Marshall, "The British Engineers in America, 1755-1783," JSAHR, Vol. 51 (1973), pp. 155-63.
66 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 205.
67 GB, Army. Corps of Royal Engineers, Orders and Regulations for the Guidance of the Corps of Royal Engineers and Royal Sappers and Miners at the Home and Abroad (London: J. Hartnell, 1832) (hereafter cited as GB, Army, RE, Orders and Regulations, 1832), p. 3.
68 John Joseph Greenough, The Halifax Citadel, 1825-60: A Narrative and Structural History, Manuscript Report Series No. 154 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1974), Vol. 1, pp. 75-76.
69 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 97-98.
70 S.P.G. Ward, op. cit., pp. 6-8.
71 George Karl Raudzens, "The British Ordnance Department in Canada, 1815-1855," Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, 1970 (hereafter cited as "British Ordnance Department"), p. 22.
72 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 174.
73 Charles James, An Universal Military Dictionary, p. 584.
74 13th Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry, cited in R.G. Glover, op. cit., p. 37.
75 Ibid.
76 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 193.
77 Ibid., p. 97.
78 R.G. Glover, op. cit., p. 37.
79 Francis Duncan, cited in W. Porter, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 89.
80 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 260-61.
81 Sir Robert Biddulph, op. cit., p. 6.
82 Charles James, An Universal Military Dictionary, p. 881.
83 J.J. Greenough, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 194-95.
84 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 194-95.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 98.
87 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 173.
88 Charles James, An Universal Military Dictionary, p. 881.
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90 For Clerk of the Ordnance see below.
91 Charles James, An Universal Military Dictionary, p. 881.
92 Ibid., pp. 881-82.
93 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 204. For more information on the Respective Officers see below.
94 Ibid., pp. 97-98.

95 Ibid., p. 188.
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98 Ibid., p. 194.
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100 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 222.
101 Ibid., p. 672.
102 Whitworth Porter, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 89.
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104 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 98.
105 George Karl Raudzens, "the British Ordnance Department in Canada, 1815-1855," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, p. 25. Richard Byham was Secretary to the Board of Ordnance from 1827 to 1850.
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108 Ibid., p. 199.
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113 Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 37.
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117 Ibid., pp. 203-4.
118 Ivan J. Saunders, "A History of Martello Towers in the Defence of British North America, 1796-1871," Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History/Lieux historiques canadiens: Cahiers d'archeologie et d'historie, No. 15 (1976), p. 13.
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120 For a description of the political problems of dealing with other government departments see John J. Greenough, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 66-67, 128-30.
121 PAC, MG 12, WO 44, Vol. 265, pp. 322-23, minutes by Wellington, 23 March 1822, cited in Raudzens, "British Ordnance Department," p. 40.
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123 John J. Greenough, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 51, 68-70.

124 PAC, MG 12, Vol. 29, p. 258, January 1826.
125 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 770.
126 Hampden Gordon, op. cit., pp. 40-41; C.M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 316-20.
127 Sir Robert Biddulph, op. cit., p. 3.
128 Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 28.
129 Lord Panmure's speech to the House of Lords, 21 Feb. 1856, quoted in Douglas and Ramsay, eds., Panmure Papers, Vol. 2, pp. 117-21.
130 Ibid.
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132 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 320.
133 S.P.G. Ward, op. cit., p. 16.
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136 Ibid., pp. 189-90.
137 For Army Audit Office see below.
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140 Piers Mackesy, The War for America, 1775-1783 (London: Longmans, 1964), pp. 6-7. The Comptrollers of Army Accounts and the Commission of Audit were separated in 1806 by 46 Geo. III, cap. 141; see GB, Parliament. House of Commons. Reports from Commissioners, "The Eighteenth Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry Appointed by Act of 45 Geo. III, Chap. 47, Office of the Commissariat, 20 March 1812," Reports from Commissioners, 1812, Vol. 4, pp. 247-370 (London: HMSO, 1812) (hereafter cited as GB, Parlia. H of C. Reports, Commissariat Report, 1812), p. 296.
141 For example, the comptrollers did not mention the accounts of the paymasters in the description of their functions supplied to the finance committee in 1812. See Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 670-71.
142 Ibid., p. 191.
143 GB, Parlia. H of C. Reports, Commissariat Report, 1812, pp. 296-97.
144 The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, s.v., "Commissariat."
145 Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 256.
146 Glenn A. Steppler, "A Duty Troublesome Beyond Measure: Logistical Consideration in the Canadian War of 1812," M.A. thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1974.

147 GB, Parlia. H of C. Reports, Commissariat Report, 1812, p. 310, evidence of L.B. Morse. Edward Curtis discovered references to a Colonel William Roy who was commissary general of the forces at home and abroad in 1778. According to Curtis "his exact status in the British military hierarchy is less clear," and he had no "direct control over the commissariat in America." See Edward Ely Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), p. 106.

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150 Norman Baker, Government and Contractors: The British Treasury and War Supplies, 1775-1783 (London: Athlone Press, 1971), p. 26.

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152 Thomas Gage, The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763-75, comp. and ed. by Clarence Edwin Carter (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1931-33), Vol. 2, pp. 352-53, Gage to Charles Lowndes, New York, 7 May 1766.

153 Norman Baker, op. cit., pp. 20, 210. This is possibly the Col. William Roy referred to by Curtis.

154 Cited in Edward E. Curtis, op. cit., pp. 177-78.

155 Norman Baker, op. cit., pp. 175-83.

156 See Brook Watson's instructions cited in Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 287.

157 GB, Parlia. H of C. Reports, Commissariat Report, 1812, pp. 253-54.

158 Ibid., pp. 259-63.

159 McGill University Library, Hardinge Papers, Box 6, bundle 4, op. cit., p. 12, evidence of William Hill.

160 PAC, RG 8, I, Vol. 111, pp. 88-90, Craigie to Brock, Quebec, 23 March 1807.

161 GB, WO, General Instructions to Commissaries (London: HMSO, 1815), p. 3, general instructions to a commissary of accounts.

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166 Ibid., p. 273.
167 Ibid., p. 315, Appendix 2, Gordon's Instructions. For details of tendering see PAC, RG 8, I, Vol. 123, pp. 165-6, Treasury Circular, No. 15, 25 July 1818.
168 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 182; S.P.G. Ward, op. cit., pp. 79-80.
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170 Ibid., pp. 13-14, statement of the heads of service to be performed by the officers of the Commissariat Department upon foreign stations, Treasury Chambers, 2 March 1824. For details of negotiating Treasury bills see PAC, RG 8, I, Vol. 136, pp. 222-222B, Treasury Circular, No. 95, 16 May 1825.
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173 PAC, MG 12, WO 1, Vol. 564, Report of the committee appointed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to inquire into the Establishment and Expenditure of the Naval, Ordnance and Commissariat Departments in the Colonies and Foreign Possessions of the Crown, 22 July, 1851.
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180 John Edward Douglas Binney, British Public Finance and Administration, 1774-92 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 151.
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184 Ibid., p. 299.
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187 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 300.
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191 Ibid., p. 108.
192 Ibid., p. 61.
193 Ibid., p. 102.
194 Ibid., p. 183
195 Cited in Niel Cantlie, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 185-6.
196 Ibid., p. 418.
197 Charles James, The Regimental Companion, Vol. 2, p. 19.
198 Niel Cantlie, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 2, Vol. 2, pp. 3-4.
199 Sir Robert Biddulph, op. cit., p. 7.
200 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 159.
201 Ibid., pp. 159-60.
202 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 62.
203 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 276.
204 Philip Dwight Jones, "The British Army in the Age of Reform, 1830-1854," Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1968, p. 78.
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206 Correlli Barnett, op. cit., p. 285.
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208 Philip D. Jones, op. cit., pp. 100-119.
209 Sir George Douglas and Sir George Dalhousie Ramsay, eds., Panmure Papers, Vol. 1, p. 29.
210 Ibid., p. 178.
211 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 358.
212 John Stuart Omond, op. cit., p. 115.
213 Sir John Wm. Fortescue, The Royal Army Service Corps, p. 186.
214 Ibid., p. 189.
215 Archibald Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 11.
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Alcohol

1 Wellington to Stanhope, quoted in Sir Charles William Oman, A History of the Peninsular War (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902-30), Vol. 2, p. 303.
2 Sir John William Fortescue, A Short Account of Canteens in the British Army (Cambridge: University Press, 1928) (hereafter cited as Short Account of Canteens), p. 303.
3 Herman Gaston de Watteville, op. cit., p. 92.

4 Thomas Head Raddall, Halifax, Warden of the North (Toronto: McCelland and Stewart, 1948), p. 54: "Take seven pounds of good spruce and boil it well till the bark peels off. Then take the spruce out and put in three gallons of molasses and boil the liquor again, scum it well as it boils, then take it out of the kettle and but it into a coller [sic]. When milk-warm in the coller put a pint of yeast into it and mix well. Then put it in the barrell and let it work for two or three days, and keep filling it up as it works out. When done working, bung it up with a tent-peg in the barrel to give it vent now and then. It may be used in two or three days." See also John Knox, An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North Amercia for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759 and 1760, ed. Sir Arthur George Doughty (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1914-16), Vol. 1, pp. 71-72, Fort Cumberland, Sept. 1757: "It [spruce beer] is made of the tops and branches of the Spruss-tree [sic], boiled for three-hours, then strained into casks, with a certain quantity of molasses; and, as soon as cold, it is fit for use."

5 [Jeffrey Amherst, 1st Baron Amherst], Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book. Expeditions of the British and Provincial Army, Under Maj. Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, Against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 1759 (Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsell, 1857) (hereafter cited as Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book), pp. 19-20, GO, Fort Edward, 11 June 1759.

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7 Ibid., Vol. 191, p. 256, HQ Quebec, 2 Dec. 1783.

8 Ibid., Vol. 18, p. 1, Crown Point, 10 Oct. 1759.

9 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 136, pp. 14-17, James Kempt to Dalhousie, Halifax, 31 Jan. 1826.

10 PAC, MG12, WO28, Vol. 305, pp. 71-72, GO, Chambly, 23 Nov. 1812.

11 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 136, pp. 18-20, A. Norcott et al. to James Kempt, Halifax, 16 Jan. 1826.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., pp. 190-95, Sir H. Taylor to Dalhousie, HG, 31 May 1826.

14 PAC, MG29, F46, Lt. Col. T. Wiley's reimiscences, pp. 13-14.

15 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1355, p. 325a, P. Maitland to George Damerum, Halifax, 12 Nov. 1830.

16 Herman Gaston de Watteville, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

17 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1195A, p. 234, HG, 24 Dec. 1824.

18 H.G. de Watteville, op. cit., p. 93.

19 PAC, MG29, F46, Lt. Col. Wiley's reminiscences, p. 14.

20 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 136, pp. 14-17, Kempt to Dalhousie, Halifax, 31 Jan. 1826.

21 PAC, MG24, F31, Sir Charles Chichester's diary, St. Johns, C.E., 23 Feb. 1845.
22 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1194R, pp. 222-23, GO, Halifax, 8 Aug. 1851.
23 Ibid., Vol. 1194W, pp. 46-46a, GO, Halifax, 4 May 1847.
24 Ibid., Vol. 1452, "Return of Soldiers who have been tried by general, district and garrison courts martial," 1845-63, Nova Scotia command.
25 GB, Army, Standing Orders for the Regulation of All Duties in the Garrison of Halifax, Nova Scotia (Halifax: pub. varies, 1839-57) (hereafter cited as GB, Army, Standing Orders ... Halifax), 1857, p. 52.
26 Beckles Willson, The Life and Letters of James Wolfe (London: William Heinemann, 1909), p. 16.
27 GB, Army, Standing Orders ... Halifax, 1839, p. 63.
28 Although orders were issued in Halifax in 1862 that four charges of drunkenness in one year constituted habitual drunkenness, one soldier was not found guilty of habitual drunkenness until his eighth charge. See PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1194Z, pp. 113, 149, GO, Halifax, 23 April and 7 June 1862.
29 Ibid., Vol. 1195B, pp. 178-178B, circular memorandum, HG, 31 Dec. 1850.
30 Ibid., Vol. 176, pp. 131-33, circular memorandum, HG, 9 May 1851.
31 PAC, MG12, WO28, Vol. 268, pp. 247-48, GO, Montreal, 23 Sept. 1844.
32 Sir James Edward Alexander, L'Acadie: or, Seven Years' Explorations in British North America ... (London: H. Colburn, 1849) (hereafter cited as L'Acadie), Vol. 1, p. 193.
33 Sir George Douglas and Sir George Dalhousie Ramsay, eds., Panmure Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 507-8, Codrington to Panmure, Crimea, 27 Nov. 1858.
34 William Scarth Moorsom, Letters from Nova Scotia; Comprising Sketches of a Young Country ... (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830) (hereafter cited as Letters from Nova Scotia), p. 35.
35 Sir James Edward Alexander, L'Acadie, Vol. 1, p. 193.
36 Thomas Head Raddall, op. cit., p. 56.
37 Ibid., p. 108.
38 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 309, pp. 159-63, confidential memoradnum, HG, 31 Dec. 1849.
39 W.E. Ingersoll, "Redcoats at Fort Garry," The Beaver, Outfit 276 (Dec. 1945), p. 16.
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42 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 530, p. 24, Kingston, 10 March 1860.
43 Ibid., Vol. 314, p. 105, Montreal, 5 June 1864.
44 Acadian Recorder, 1869.

45 Sir John William Fortescue, A Short Account of Canteens, pp. 3-4. In 1645 there was a commissariat providing bread and cheese, but by 1702 the commissariat was issuing only bread and licensing sutlers to provide for other needs.

46 See Daniel Defoe, The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies commonly called Mother Ross (London: Peter Davies, 1928), passim.

47 John Knox, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 84, Fort Cumberland (Beauséjour), Oct. 1757.

48 [Jeffrey Amherst, 1st Baron Amherst], Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book, p. 15, GO, Fort Edward, 9 June 1759; ibid., p. 186, Lake Champlain, 15 Oct. 1759.

49 John Knox, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 258, 275, GO, Quebec, 4 and 14 Nov. 1759.

50 PAC, MG23, K1, Vol. 22, garrison orders, Isle-aux-Noix, 26 Jan. 1778.

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53 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 595, p. 209, Montreal, 8 Sept. 1842.

54 Sir James Edward Alexander, L'Acadie, Vol. 1, p. 193.

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59 Sir John William Fortescue, A Short Account of Canteens, p. 18.

60 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1195G, pp. 180-180c, GO, WO, 2 Sept. 1835; ibid., Vol. 1190, p. 274b, "Regulations to be adopted for the future Government Canteens at Foreign Stations, Office of Ordnance," 15 Dec. 1834.

61 Ibid., Vol. 586, pp. 51-54, Lt. Ingall to Lt. Col. Foster, Penetanguishene; GB, WO, Standing Orders for the 79th Highlanders, p. 145.

62 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1195F, pp. 82-82c, circular, HG, 26 April 1838.

63 Ibid., Vol. 595, pp. 183-9, Board of Survey, LaPrairie, 29 July 1842. For a complete listing of the goods sold and their prices see Appendix B, section 1, below. In some places, soldiers were allowed to bring "their respectable Civilian friends" into the canteen; see GB, WO, Standing Orders for the 79th Highlanders, p. 145.

64 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 595, p. 179, Montreal, 1 Aug. 1842.
65 Ibid., Vol. 523, p. 177, Montreal, 20 Aug. 1849.
66 Ibid., pp. 178-82, Montreal, 24 Aug. 1849.
67 The Illustrated London News, 20 March 1847, p. 188; Sir John William Fortescue, A Short Account of Canteens, pp. 22-23.
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69 Ibid., Vol. 163, pp. 27-31, regulations for regimental canteens, WO, 1 July 1866.
70 Ibid.
71 Queen's University Archives, Canteen Letterbook, 97th Regiment, passim, 1 Aug. 1877 - 1 July 1880.
72 Ibid., remarks on canteen account, Dublin Castle, 30 Sept. 1871.
73 Ibid., 18 Sept. 1879.
74 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 535, pp. 179-83, WO, 27 Oct. 1863.
75 Ibid., Vol. 541, pp. 50-51, Barrack Office, London, 12 Jan. 1867; ibid., Vol. 1741, p. 41, WO to CO Halifax, 19 Jan. 1869; Queen's University Archives, Canteen Letterbooks, 97th Regiment, 18 Aug. 1877; PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1740, p. 335, to CO Halifax, 31 Dec. 1868.
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80 Sir John William Fortescue, A Short Account of Canteens, pp.28-30.

Desertion: That Disgraceful Crime

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8 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 171, pp. 96-97, [illegible] to Lt. Col. Eden, DAG, Quebec, 21 Jan. 1833.

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11 PAC, MG24, F1, Vol. 1, H. Bowyer to Col. Brownrigg, Halifax, 27 July 1801.

12 PAC, MG24, F38, Eyre Papers, op. cit.

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30 Ibid., Vol. 512, pp. 259-61, Major J. Grant, Fort George, to Major Green, York, 20 Nov. 1802; Sir James Edward Alexander, L'Acadie, Vol. 1, pp. 298-99.

31 PAC, MG12, WO1, Vol. 549, American news clipping.

32 SRO, GD 45/3/6, p. 32, Dalhousie to Stratford Canning, Quebec, 12 Dec. 1820.

33 Cited in Fred Dreyer, "Three Years in the Toronto Garrison: The Story of the Honourable Gilbert Elliott, 1847-1850," Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, Vol. 57 (1965), p. 32.

34 PAC, MG24, F31, Chichester diary, Kingston, 5 Aug. 1846; PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 183, pp. 252-55, Daniel McCormick to Lt. Gen. Windham, Astoria, Ore., 4 April 1870; ibid., Vol. 1173, p. 36A, "Proclamation for Pardoning Deserters from His Majesty's Regular Land Forces," Gordon Drummond, Quebec, 25 April 1815; ibid., Vol. 179, pp. 105-6, memorandum for the military secretary, 18 Nov. 1850.

35 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 164, p. 27, E.B. Littlehales, York to Francis Le Maistre, 1 Nov. 1795, enclosing "Extract of a letter from Major Smith...Niagara 29th October 1793"; ibid., Vol. 513, p. 26.
36 Ibid., Vol. 1452, passim, return of soldiers tried by courts martial, Nova Scotia, 1845-63.
37 Ibid., Vols. 180-1, passim.
38 PAC, MG24, F38, Eyre Papers, Rowan to Brown, Montreal, 25 Jan. 1851.
39 PAC, MG24, A1, Vol. 1, pp. 83-89, Brock's proposal, submitted to HQ, 1806.
40 John Mackay Hitsman, The Incredible War of 1812; A Military History (Toronto: University Press, 1965) (hereafter cited as Hitsman, Incredible War), p. 14; PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 729, pp. 1-12, Fitzroy Somerset to Sir Richard Jackson, HG, 27 Aug. 1840; G. Tylden, "The Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, 1840 to 1870," JSAHR, Vol. 34 (1956), p. 59.
41 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1194, pp. 356A-356B, GO, HQ Montreal, 4 March 1841.
42 PAC, MG24, F46, Lt. Col. T. Wiley, reminiscences, p. 90.
43 PAC, MG24, F38, Eyre papers, Rowan to Brown, Montreal, 25 Jan. 1851; PAC, MG24, F31, Chichester diary, 5 May 1844.
44 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 180, pp. 106-7, "Return of Sums issued as Rewards for the apprehension...of Deserters, during the half year ended 31st December 1864...."
45 PAC, MG24, F38, Eyre Papers, Rowan to Brown, Montreal, 25 Jan. 1851.
46 Kenneth Bourne, "British Preparations for War with the North, 1861-1862," English Historical Review, Vol. 76 (1961), p. 605.
47 PANS, HQ33, GO, Halifax, 26 May 1840.

Discipline

1 Martial law and military law should not be confused. Martial law is imposed by the government and enforced by the military when ordinary civil law is suspended.
2 E. Samuel, Historical Account of the British Army, and of the Law Military, as Declared by the Ancient and Modern Statutes, and Articles of War for its Government: with a Free Commentary on the Mutiny Act, and the Rules and Articles of War; Illustrated by Various Decision of Court Martial (London: William Clowes, 1816), p. 180.
3 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 145-51. The Mutiny Act, usually passed every year by Parliament, gave the crown the power to enact Articles of War, so long as such articles did not contravene or supersede the Mutiny Act.

4 E. Samuel, op. cit., pp. 194-97.

5 For a complete synopsis of the Articles of War for 1837, see Appendix B, part 1.

6 Of course this was true only when a court martial was so lenient as to award corporal punishment or imprisonment instead of a sentence of death.

7 Officers never suffered physical punishment and were rarely imprisoned, in marked contrast to the men they commanded. For an example of an officer sentenced to imprisonment, see PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 167, pp. 79-84.

8 Scott Claver, Under the Lash: A History of Corporal Punishment in the British Armed Forces, Including a Digest of the Report of the Royal Commission, 1835-36, and the First Reprint of "Certain Immoral Practices in His Majesty's Navy" (1821) (London: Torchstream Books, 1954), p. 22.

9 For an example of a defaulter's book, see Figure 31.

10 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 539, pp. 82-83. Col. Alexander Russell to Brigade Major Montreal, Quebec, 14 Sept. 1865, duties of the military police, Quebec.

11 Joachim Heyward Siddons, The British Soldier: An Anecdotal History of the British Army, from the Earliest Formation to the Present Time (London: William S. Orr and Company, 1857), p. 301. The Royal Commission on Military Punishments disagreed with the seven-day limit. According to this body, confinement in the guard cells by a commanding officer was limited to a total of two days. A commanding officer could, however, hold a soldier in the cells for a week if the soldier were released for defaulter's drill and his regular duty. See Great Britain. Parliament. Sessional Papers, "Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army," Sessional Papers, 1836, Vol. 22, No. 59 (London: HMSO, 1836) (hereafter cited as GB. Parlia., "Report ... Military Punishments") p. 2.

12 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 175, pp. 208-10, circular No. 954, WO, 27 June 1845, Sidney Herbert.

13 PAC, MG24, F68, regimental orders, Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, Niagara, 4 Nov. 1851.

14 GB. Parlia., "Report ... Military Punishments," p. 2; Joachim Heyward Siddons, op. cit., p. 301. In 1834, one entire regiment was confined to barracks by the commanding officer. PANS, HQ30, pp. 186-87, GO, Halifax, 31 Oct. 1834.

15 Great Britain. War Office, The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army (London: HMSO, 1859) (hereafter cited as GB, WO, The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, 1859), p. 123.

16 PAC, MG29, F46, Lt. Col. T. Wiley, reminiscences, pp. 23-24.

17 PAO, Cox diary. See also Appendix B, section 3.

18 GB, WO, Standing Orders for the 79th Highlanders p. 83.
19 One of the reasons given for the mutiny planned at Fort George in 1803 was Sheaffe's overuse of this power. According to FitzGibbon, the four black holes at the fort were always full. See Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, A Veteran of 1812: The Life of James FitzGibbon, 2d ed. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), p. 53.
20 GB, Parlia, "Report ... Military Punishment," p. 49, testimony of Lt. Col. John Townsend.
21 Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, An Essay on Military Law, and the Practice of Courts-Martial ... 3rd ed., ed. by Charles James (London: T. Egerton, 1814), p. 176.
22 Ibid., p. 177.
23 GB, Parlia, "Report ... Military Punishments," p. 1, Adj. Gen. John Macdonald.
24 Lord A.F.T. Woodhouselee, op. cit., p. 181.
25 Ibid., p. 191.
26 Richard G. Glover, op. cit., pp. 172-73.
27 Lord A.F.T. Woodhouselee, op. cit., pp. 134-35.
28 Ibid., p. 138.
29 Ibid., p. 136.
30 Joachim Heyward Siddons, op. cit., p. 303.
31 Frederick Harris Dawes Vieth, Recollections of the Crimean Campaign and the Expedition to Kinburn in 1855, Including also Sporting and Dramatic Incidents in Connection with Garrison Life in the Canadian Lower Provinces ... (Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1907), p. 16.
32 GB, Parlia, "Report ... Military Punishment," p. 77, testimony of corporal of 1st Foot Guards.
33 Ibid., p. 73, testimony of Private A.B.
34 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1705, p. 3, regulations for barracks by "His Excellency Robert Prescott, Esq.; General and Commander in Chief," 15 Dec. 1796.
35 Ibid.
36 See Figure 31 for an example.
37 GB, WO, The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, 1859, p. 247.
38 GB, WO, General Regulations and Orders for the Army, 1816, pp. 105-6.
39 PAO, J. Home Purves diary, Quebec, 19 May 1838.
40 Scott Claver, op. cit., p. 36.
41 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 345, pp. 247-56, G.A. Wetherall, DAG, Montreal, 1 April 1848, memorandum.
42 PAC, MG24, F1 Bowyer Papers, Vol. 3, File 1, p. 129, H. Reynett, Military Secretary, to Brigade Major Hailes, HQ Halifax, 11 Oct. 1802.
43 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 582, p. 97, Major James Baird to Lt. Col. Eliot, 23 Nov. 1830.
44 Ibid., Vol. 1186, p. 107, GO, Quebec, 4 Dec. 1826.
45 PAC, MG24, F1, Bowyer Papers, Vol. 7, unpaginated, GO, HQ Halifax, 7 Sept. 1794.

46 Ibid., GO, Halifax, 31 Dec. 1794.
47 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 172, pp. 159-60, Col. Charles Gore to Lt. Gen. Sir John Colborne, 25 May 1837.
48 See Appendix B, Section 5.
49 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 534, pp. 9-10, return of stores, utensils, etc., approved by R. Rollo, Military Secretary, Montreal, 17 Jan. 1863. For a list of all items requisitioned, see Appendix B, section 6.
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51 For example see PAC, MG24, A6, Peter Hunter papers, pp. 331-38, John Higginton, 41st Regt., to be shot for his fourth desertion, Quebec, 12 Aug. 1803.
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54 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1203-½, GO, Montreal, 30 Oct. 1813.
55 Ibid., Vol. 74, p. 159, prayer for malefactors. For the text of this prayer, see Appendix B, section 7.
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57 Richard G. Glover, op. cit., pp. 182-83.
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59 Calvert to Matthew Lewis, 21 Dec. 1801, cited in Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 183.
60 Ibid.
61 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 29, p. 107, Isle of Wight, 30 Aug. 1802.
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64 Ibid., Vol. 1195D, p. 79.
65 Ibid., Vol. 171, pp. 32-33, HG, 23 Nov. 1832.
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83 Ibid., p. 37.
84 Ibid., p. 2.
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87 Ibid., p. 55.
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89 Scott Claver, op. cit., pp. 45-46.
90 Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, op. cit., p. 53.
91 Cited in Scott Claver, op. cit., p. 56.
92 Ibid., p. 264.
93 Ibid., pp. 42-43; PAC, MG29, F46, Lt. Col. T. Wiley's reminiscences, pp. 32-33.
94 PAC, MG24, F1, Bowyer papers, Vol. 4, file 1, pp. 106-7, Alexander Howe, capt., Royal Nova Scotia Regiment to Capt. J. Dodd, military secretary, Annapolis Royal, 13 Oct. 1800.
95 PAC, MG29, F46, Lt. Col. T. Wiley's reminiscences, pp. 30-31.
96 PAC, MG23, K6, Quebec Garrison Records, Vol. 1, p. 25, 5 Aug. 1776.
97 Scott Claver, op. cit., pp. 43-44.
98 University of Michigan, Clements Library, Gage Papers, American series, Vol. 60, court transcript, 24 Oct. 1766. The drummers, ajdutant and captain were all acquitted. See ibid., Carleton to Gage, 20 Dec. 1766.
99 Buck Adams in 1843, cited in Herman Gaston de Watteville, op. cit., p. 112.

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100 PAC, MG24, F31, Sir Charles Chichester's diary, Aug. 1846.
102 Alexander Alexander, cited in Tom Henderson McGuffie, op. cit., p. 97.
103 Scott Claver, op. cit., p. 57.
104 PAC, MG29, F46, Lt. Col. T. Wiley's reminiscences, pp. 32-33.
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110 Henry L. Shaw, "Running the Gauntlet," JSAHR, Vol. 41 (1963), pp. 219-20.
111 Sergeant Lamb, cited in Tom Henderson McGuffie, op. cit., p. 95.
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114 L. Winstock, op. cit., p. 97.
115 John Shipp, Flogging and its Substitute; Advice from the Ranks; or, A Letter to Sir Francis Burdett, on the Barbarous and Degrading System of Flogging Soldiers and Sailors (London: Whittaker, Treacher, 1831), p. 24.
116 Ibid., p. 5.
117 GB, Parlia, "Report ... Military Punishments," p. xi.
118 Jasper Godwin Ridley, op. cit., p. 49.
119 Correlli Barnett, op. cit., p. 241.
120 Cited in Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 178.
121 Cited in Herman Gaston de Watteville, op. cit., p. 121.
122 Ibid.
123 Cited in Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 179.
124 Ibid. For the effect of this new limitation and a study of how many lashes were inflicted thereafter, see Appendix B, section 8.
125 Thomas Head H. Raddall, op. cit., p. 135.
126 Scott Claver, op. cit., p. 26.
127 Jasper Godwin Ridley, op. cit., p. 50.
128 Richard G. Glover, op. cit., p. 178.
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132 Ibid.
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135 Ibid., p. xvii.
136 Ibid., pp. xxii-xxiii. For a transcript of the conclusions of the report, see Appendix B, section 9.

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139 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 307, p. 191, confidential circular, HG, 10 Aug. 1846.
140 Ibid., Vols. 1452, 1452A, returns of soldiers tried by general, district and garrison courts martial, 1845-70.
141 Scott Claver, op. cit., p. 263.
142 Herman Gaston de Watteville, op. cit., p. 195.
143 GB, Parlia, "Report ... Military Punishments," p. xi.

Libraries

1 For more information on the Royal Commission on Military Punishments, see "Discipline," above.
2 Scott Claver, op. cit., pp. 248-51; GB, Parlia. "Report ... Military Punishments," 1836, p. xix; PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1195F, pp. 151-151C, GO, HG, 5 Feb. 1840.
3 T.H. Hawkins, Adult Education: The Record of the British Army (London: Macmillan, 1947), pp. 12-13.
4 Ibid., pp. 12-13; PAC, MG24, F9, pp. 38-46, John Owen, Chaplain General, to Rev. Theophiles S. DesBrisay, WO, 8 Aug. 1812.
5 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1194B, p. 431, GO, HQ, Montreal, 22 Sept. 1845; GB, Parlia. "Report ... Military Punishments," 1836, p. 266.
6 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 526, p. 146, J. Wood to RO in Montreal, War Dept., 15 Jan. 1856; ibid., Vol. 583, pp. 216-17, E.W. Durnford, President, Quebec Garrison Library, to commander of the forces, Quebec, 9 July 1831; PAC, MG12, WO28, Vol. 315, p. 13, circular memorandum, Quebec, 24 April 1816; PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 558, pp. 120-21, J. Harvey to Lt. Hall, Quebec, 29 May 1816; ibid., Vol. 526, pp. 155-56, T. Blatterwick to Major Griffen, Garrison Library, Quebec, 20 March 1856.
7 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1753, pp. 190-91, HG to Lt. Gen. Doyle, 17 April 1872; SRO, GD 45/3/4, pp. 55-57, Dalhousie to Sherbrooke, Halifax, 29 Dec. 1817; H.T. Goodeve, A Brief History of the Cambridge Library, Halifax (Halifax: n.p., n.d.), passim.
8 Actually there is some evidence that officers were using the barrack libraries before 1852. See PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1829, p. 66, circular No. 942, WO, 6 May 1845; ibid., Vol. 1194E, p. 366, GO, Montreal, 7 Feb. 1853.
9 Ibid., Vol. 1195F, pp. 151-151C, GO, HG, 5 Feb. 1840; ibid., Vol. 519, pp. 46-48, C.E. Trevelyan to CO Canada, Treasury Chambers, 28 Jan. 1840; ibid., Vol. 1195F, pp. 151-151C.
10 Ibid., Vol. 1194, p. 276, GO, Montreal, 25 Oct. 1840; PAC, MG12, WO28, Vol. 268, pp. 1-2, GO, Montreal, 9 Aug. 1841.

11 Sir John Henry Lefroy, Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army, and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms... (London: HMSO, 1859), pp. 55-56, 61.

12 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 525, p. 90, B. Hawes to GOC Canada, WO, 18 Feb. 1853.

13 Ibid., Vol. 1749, p. 278, Council of Military Education to CO Halifax, London, 29 Nov. 1860; ibid., Vol. 1723, p. 369, Sullivan to CO Halifax, 29 Oct. 1850.

14 Ibid., Vol. 529, p. 142, M. Bradford, Toronto to military secretary, Montreal, 14 July 1859; ibid., Vol. 529, p. 141, H.P. Bourchier [?], Kingston, to military secretary, Montreal, 13 July 1859.

15 Ibid., Vol. 528, pp. 140-41, instructions to librarians, WO, 1 Oct. 1858; ibid., Vol. 311, pp. 255-56, WO, 8 June 1857, signed J.H. Lefroy, Inspector General of Army Schools; ibid., Vol. 73, pp. 201-3, WO, 12 April 1859, Roplyn [?] to Bishop Grant.

16 Sir John Henry Lefroy, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

17 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 530, p. 24, Bourchier, Kingston, to military secretary, 10 March 1860.

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22 Charles Perry Stacey, Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871: A Study in the Practice of Responsible Government, rev. ed. (Toronto: University Press, 1963) (hereafter cited as Canada and the British Army), pp. 204-7.

Religion: Tommy, 'ow's Yer Soul?

1 GB, WO, General Regulations and Orders for the Army, 1811, p. 83; R.A. Evans, "The Army and Navy at Halifax in Peace-Time, 1783-1793," M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1970, p. 119; PAC, WO28, Vol. 304, p. 103, GO, Quebec, 19 Sept. 1812; Edgar Andrew Collard, "Call Back Yesterday," Montreal Gazette, 2 May, 22 May and 29 June 1935. On 17 Nov. 1783 the band was ordered to stop accompanying the troops to church in Halifax.

2 For a further discussion of religion and loyalty to the state, see Judith Elizabeth Tulloch, "Conservative

Opinion in Nova Scotia During an Age of Revolution, 1789-1815,", M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1972, pp. 48-79.

3 J. Paine, "Notes," JSAHR, Vol. 20 (1941), p. 55.

4 PRO, WO1, Vol. 165, p. 697, Viscount Ligonier to Charles Townshend, Secretary at War, London, 26 June 1762, cited in "Replies," JSAHR, Vol. 49 (1971), pp. 184-5.

5 J.R. Western, "Roman Catholics Holding Military Commissions in 1798," English Historical Review, Vol. 70 (1955), p. 428.

6 Ibid., p. 431.

7 Ibid., p. 430.

8 GB, WO, General Regulations and Orders for the Army, 1811, p. 84. This seems to have been a fairly recent change in the regulations, for no such proviso appears in the regulations for 1804.

9 PAC, MG24, F31, Chichester diary.

10 Sir John George Smyth, In This Sign Conquer: The Story of the Army Chaplains (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1968), p. xviii.

11 PRO, WO7, Vol. 61, pp. 422-24, Owen to Secretary at War, Chaplain General's Office, 29 Oct. 1813.

12 Ibid., Vol. 64, pp. 26-27, to Lt. Gen. Sir H. Taylor, Chaplain General's Office, 15 Feb. 1827.

13 PRO, WO1, Vol. 539, p. 145, unsigned, to Lt. Gov. Falkland, 15 Nov. 1843; PAC, MG24, F31, Chichester diary, 27 March 1847.

14 H.J. Hanham, "Religion and Nationality in the Mid-Victorian Army," in Michael Richard Daniel Foot, ed., War and Society: Historical Essays in Honour and Memory of J.R. Western, 1928-1971 (London: P. Elek, 1973), p. 179.

15 Ibid., pp. 162-63.

16 For a fuller discussion of the history of British army chaplains, see C.D. Edward Aitken, "The Background and Development of the Royal Canadian Army Chaplain Corps (Protestant)" M.A. thesis, Pine Hill Divinity Hall, Halifax, 1965.

17 Sir John George Smyth, op. cit., p. 26; University of Michigan, Clements Library, Gage Papers, letterbook, 2, Gage to Amherst, Montreal, 10 March 1763.

18 PANS, MG1, Vol. 163 (tss), Mather Byles to his sisters, 1789; R.A. Evans, op. cit., p. 118.

19 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 63, pp. 22a-32, warrant, 23 Sept. 1796.

20 Sir John George Smyth, op. cit., p. 32.

21 Ibid., p. 42.

22 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 923, p. 4, 21 Jan. 1804.

23 Ibid., Vol. 1168, pp. 114-15, GO, Quebec, 24 March 1812.

24 Ibid., Vol. 63, pp. 193-94, pay list, 17 April 1812.

25 Ibid., Vol. 65, p. 14.
26 John Philip, "The Economic and Social Effects of the British Garrisons on the Development of Western Upper Canada," Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, Vol. 41 (1949), p. 45.
27 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1357, p. 264, F. Campbell to Hewitson, 20 Sept. 1836, ibid., Vol. 1357, pp. 284-85, Campbell to Hewitson, Halifax 1 Nov. 1837; ibid., Vol. 1359, pp. 275-76, C.F. Gibson to RO, Halifax, 28 May and 3 June 1844.
28 Ibid., Vols. 63-71. E.g. Vol. 71, pp. 49-52, extract of letter from Bishop Walsh to Lord Stanley, 18 May 1845. Roman Catholic soldiers were depriving the parishioners of their seats.
29 GB, WO, Royal Warrant and Regulations Regarding Army Services; and Explanatory Directions for the Information and Guidance of Paymasters and Others ... (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1848), pp. 108-9.
30 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1721, pp. 66-68, WO, 23 Nov. 1832; ibid., Vol. 1195A, p. 226, WO, 12 Oct. 1824.
31 PAC, MG24, F9, pp. 45-46, John Owen to Theophile DesBrisay, WO, 8 Aug. 1812; see also "Libraries," above, and PRO, WO7, Vol. 60, pp. 69-71, John Owen to Secretary at War, Chaplain General's Office, 23 Oct. 1810.
32 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 289, p. 24, HG, 24 Nov. 1810; PRO, WO7, Vol. 60, pp. 38-41, John Owen to Secretary at War, 15 Sept. 1810.
33 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 67, pp. 130-33, J.L. Burks[?], Senior Chaplain to His Majesty's Forces, to Lt. Col. Couper, Quebec, 13 June 1829. This may be the same institution referred to as the "Quebec Military Asylum ... a benevolent inistitution" whose funds were embezzled by a chaplain, the Rev. George Cowell, in 1854. Cowell was, not surprisingly, dismissed. See ibid., Vol. 72, pp. 200-64.
34 PRO, WO4, Vol. 347, pp. 160-61, Dakins to the Rev. Mr. Hudson (Chaplain, Quebec), WO, 2 April 1834; PAC, MG24, A12, regulations and catalogue of Quebec garrison library, 1824.
35 Sir John George Smyth, op. cit., p. 29.
36 T.A. Bowyer-Bower, "Some Early Educational Influences in the British Army," JSAHR, Vol. 33 (1955), pp. 7-8.
37 N.T. St. John Williams, Tommy Atkins' Children: The Story of the Education of the Army's Children, 1675-1970 (London: HMSO, 1971), p. 35.
38 T.H. Hawkins, op. cit., p. 13.
39 PAC, MG24, F31, Chichester diary, St. John, C.E., 28 1843.
40 N.T. St. John Williams, op. cit., pp. 35-45; Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. "G.R. Gleig."
41 N.T. St. John Williams, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

42 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1771, pp. 68-70, GO, WO, 7 March 1857; ibid., Vol. 1725, pp. 141-45, the Rev. William Armstrong to R. Gleig, Saint John, N.B., 1 Jan. 1857, and ibid., Vol. 534, p. 90, chaplain in Hamilton, C.W. Hamilton, 5 March 1863.

43 Egerton Douglas Hammond, op. cit., p. 138, Kingston, 19 Jan. 1848.

44 Ibid., pp. 175-78, Kingston, 3 Oct. 1848. Forty-four men equal 5 per cent of the establishment at Kingston in 1848 (based on average monthly returns; see PAC, MG12, WO17, Vol. 1551, passim.)

45 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 74, pp. 107-9, quarterly report, George C. Williams, Toronto, 31 March 1864.

46 Ibid., Vol. 64, p. 80, Kingston, 3 Sept. 1815; ibid., Vol. 67, pp. 226-27, Lt. Col. Macintosh to the Rev. B.B. Stevens, 9 May 1831.

47 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., s.v., "Bible Societies."

48 J. Fingard, op. cit., pp. 7-8; PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 66, p. 77, GO, HG, 18 May 1824.

49 PRO, WO7, Vol. 65, pp. 8-9, circular, London, Feb. 1825; PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 66, p. 80, circular, HG, 2 June 1824; PRO, WO7, Vol. 65, p. 13, HG, 7 May 1825.

50 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 75, pp. 131-34, Paulet to Lt. Gen. Sir C.A. Windham, HG, 29 May 1868.

Appendix B. Alcohol

1 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 595, pp. 183-89.

2 Ibid., Vol. 541, pp. 50-51.

3 Ibid., Vol. 528, pp. 112-16, memorandum of agreement 1805; ibid., Vol. 529, pp. 13-16, list of articles to be sold, Montreal, 21 Jan. 1859.

4 Queen's University Archives, Letterbook of the 79th Regt., passim.

Appendix C. Desertion

1 PAC, MG12, WO17, Vol. 1555, Canada, August 1851.

2 GB, WO, The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, 1859, p. 383.

3 For example, see PAC, MG12, WO17, Vol. 1566, Canada, 1862. The first figure is for the AWOL column and the second is, for the "deserted" column two months later: 6-3; 2-16; 28-13; 17-6; 6-25; 34-28; 52-22; 36-18; 26-15; 18-12; 16-9; 14-3.

4 Using only the desertion column, the desertion rates from 1861 to 1864 are 2.02, 1.58, 1.52, 2.70 and 1.87.

5 Robin W. Winks, Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), p. 194, Fig. 34.

6 When it was organized in 1824 these units were known as the Royal Newfoundland Veteran Companies. The "Veteran" was dropped in 1843, and in 1862 the units were amalgamated with the Royal Canadian Rifles. See Charles H. Stewart, The Services of British Regiments in Canada and North America: A Resumé with a Chronological List of Uniforms Portrayed in Sources Consulted ... (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, Ottawa, 1962), pp. 415-16.

7 Isaac Brock, for one, recommended the formation of a veteran battalion to help curb desertion in Upper Canada. See PAC, MG24, A1, Vol. 1, pp. 83-88, draft, Isaac Brock, London, January 1806.

8 PAC, MG12, WO17, Vol. 2391, Nova Scotia, June 1844.

9 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1169, pp. 10-12, D. Campbell to Lt. Gen. Sir John Harvey, P.E.I., 7 Aug. 1849.

10 PAC, MG12, WO17, Vol. 2390, Marcus Slade to acting DAG (Halifax), Saint John, N.B., 2 Oct. 1841.

11 Ibid., Vol. 2396, Nova Scotia, 1849.

12 Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. "Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant;" Acadian Recorder, 29 May 1858, report of the trial of John Driscoll; Morning Herald and Commercial Advertiser, 9 July 1841.

13 PAC, MG24, F38, report by E.A. Wetherall, "Desertion in Canada," Montreal, 20 March, 1845; Charles M. Godfrey, The Cholera Epidemics in Upper Canada, 1832-1866 (Toronto: Seccombe House, 1968), pp. 35-36.

14 PAC, MG24, F38, Wetherall, op. cit., Montreal, 20 March 1845.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 PAC, MG12, WO17, Vol. 1547, Canada, October 1838.

18 PAC, MG24, F38, Wetherall, op. cit., Montreal, 20 March 1845; PAC, MG12, WO17, Vols. 1541-4, passim.

19 PRO, 30/46/16, Lt. Col. R. Rollo, Montreal, 11 June 1857.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 PAC, MG12, WO17, Vols. 1541-4, monthly returns, Canada, 1837-40.

23 PAC, MG24, F38, return for 9th and 12th Regiments.

Appendix D. Discipline

1 "Rules and Articles for the Better Government of All His Majesty's Forces," in 7 Will. IV and I Vict., cap. VII.

2 John Mackay Hitsman, Safeguarding Canada, 1763-1871 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 230.

3 PAO, Cox Diary.

4 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 352, p. 211.

5 Ibid., Vol. 1829, pp. 34-48.

6 Ibid., Vol. 534, pp. 9-11.
7 Ibid., Vol. 74, p. 159.
8 Ibid., Vol. 165, p. 56.
9 GB, Parlia, "Report ... Military Punishments," pp. xxii-xxiii.

Appendix E. Libraries

1 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 522, p. 105, garrison library at Chambly, 1846.
2 Ibid., Vol. 519, pp. 237-39, GO, Ordnance Office, 25 Oct. 1844, enclosing.
3 PAC, MG24, F38, "Circular, No. 217 (Libraries)," fols. 30-33v.
4 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1194K, pp. 153-59, GO, Montreal, 19 Feb. 1864.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1195F, pp. 151-1516, GO, HG, 5 Feb. 1840.

Appendix F. Religion

1 PRO, WO7, Vol. 60, pp. 38-41, John Owen to Secretary at War, 15 Sept. 1810.
2 Ibid., Vol. 63, p. 128.
3 Ibid., Vol. 763, pp. 203-4.
4 Ibid., Vol. 65, p. 14, books ordered for Halifax.
5 Ibid., p. 28, books ordered for York.
6 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 63, pp. 22a-32, royal warrant, 23 Sept. 1796.

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MG23, K6, Quebec Garrison Records
MG24, A1, Sir Isaac Brock papers
MG24, A6, Peter Hunter papers
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